# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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## Pro-Slavery.

### MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH

AT THE LATE

Anniversary of the Colonisation Society, at Washington.

REVISED BY HIMSELF.

GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN COLONISATION SOCIETY: There is not only no member of this Association, but also no citizen of the country, who does not lament, and no one more deeply laments than I do, the cause to which it is to be ascribed that I have been called upon to-night to occupy the chair of this Association. The eminent, the distinguished, I will say the illustrious, fellow-citizen of ours who was one of the early founders of this institution, who has for many years manifested his sense of its importance, and his zeal for its success, is, by continued illness, deprived of the opportunity not only of being here to-night, as the President of the Society, but also is prevented from exercising his usual salutary influence in the councils of the country.

Gentlemen, it is now many years since this Society was formed and organized, and put into operation by the eminent persons of whom he was one. His opinion of its usefulness, his zeal for its advancement and prosperity, his constant desire always to be present at its meetings, is known to you all, and I am sure that there is no deeper sympathy in the heart or feelings of any one present than that Providence, in His wisdom, may see fit to restore him to his accustomed ability of patriotic service in the national councils, and devoted care to this institution.

Let us, gentlemen, implore the Throne of Grace and of Mercy, not only for his restoration to health, but for the usefulness and prosperity of this institution.

The Rev. C. M. BUTLER was called upon, and delivered a prayer appropriate to the occasion.

The Secretary of the Society, the Rev. WILLIAM MCLAIN, then read an Abstract of the Annual Report.

The Hon. F. P. STANTON, of Tennessee, was then announced; he offered the following resolution, viz.:

Resolved, That American Colonisation, as pursued by this Society, is of national importance, and that its plan and operation strongly commend themselves by their success to the favour and encouragement of the General Government.

Mr. STANTON spoke at considerable length in support of the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. SLAUGHTER was announced, and, before proceeding with his remarks, he offered the following resolution, namely:

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonisation affords a basis broad enough for Christians of all creeds and politicians of all parties to stand upon, and that its principles and conduct are in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of the States, and our obligations to the Union.

The reverend gentleman then delivered an eloquent address in support of the resolution.

The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER being called on for some remarks, said, in substance, that it was now many years since he took part in the original organization of this Society. It was formed under the lead of Southern gentlemen. Its first President was that most estimable, virtuous, and distinguished magistrate Judge Bushrod Washington. In the list of its Vice Presidents, at the time, he remembered the gentleman to whom allusion had been made (Mr. Clay), now the President of the Society. Circumstances had not called on him, or had often prevented him, from that day to this, from taking any particularly active part in furthering the objects or promoting the success of this Society. He had, nevertheless, never entertained a doubt that its object was useful, to a certain degree practicable, and, in the end, might show itself to be of the highest importance in producing beneficial effects on the state of society among ourselves and to the mixed races which inhabit the United States.

Gentlemen, there is a Power above us which sees the end of all things from the beginning, though we see it not. Almighty God is his own interpreter of the ways of his own providence; and I sometimes contemplate with amazement, and I may say with adoration, events which have taken place through the instrumentality of the cupidity and criminality of men designed, nevertheless, to work out the great ends of the beneficence and the goodness of our Creator.

As has been said by the eloquent and reverend gentleman who addressed us, African slaves were brought hither, to the shores of this continent, almost simultaneously with the first tread of the white man's foot on this, our North American continent.

Our shortsightedness sees, in this matter, but a desire of the white man to appropriate to himself the results of the labour of the black man, as an inferior and a slave; but now let us look at in a larger view.

These negroes, and all who have succeeded them, were brought hither as captives, taken in the wars of their own petty provinces, in a state of ignorance and barbarism, without a knowledge of God, and with no reasonable knowledge of their own character and condition; but although in subordinate and inferior station, and in an uncivilized state, they have learned more, and become to know more of themselves and of their Creator, than all whom they have left behind them in their own barbarous kingdoms; and it would seem that this is the mode, and, as far as we can know, this is the destiny, the law of things established by Providence, by which knowledge, letters, and Christianity, shall be returned by the descendants of the poor ignorant barbarians who were brought here as slaves, to the country from which they came.

He who now goes back to Africa under the auspices of this Society is an intelligent man; he knows that he is an immortal man, which his ancestors hardly knew, except from the instinct which induces men to believe in a hereafter. The ways of Providence are dark and intricate. Our imagination traces them in vain. We do not see where the combination ends; but we may depend upon it, that since there are various races on earth, and since there are—as it seems to me unquestionably there are—instinctive repulsions between these races, grown up during thousands of years, by the difference of colour, climate, and other causes, there is, nevertheless, an end in view, by the providence of our Creator, promotive of the happiness of all, by the agency and benevolence of all, in this enlightened and civilized age. Emigration from land to land, from country to country, is one of the new and striking ideas of this age. I say it is a new idea. I do not say emigration was not known from time immemorial. I say only, that as a great improvement of society, in the moral and political world, emigration has now become a prominent idea and object. We see it in more instances and relations than one.

One of the wisest gentlemen whom it has been my fortune to be acquainted with in public life—I mean the late Lord Ashburton—in his correspondence with this Government while here, remarked, that it seemed to him the design of Providence, in facilitating the intercourse between country and country, and the rapid transmission from one continent to another, of individuals, was, by this particular branch of advancement in the arts, to enable Europe to pour forth her over-population into the thinly peopled country of North America. The work of spreading men over acres, giving to each man breadth, room, and space, was especially and spiritedly undertaken by the Anglo Saxon race. It seems to be theirs to spread knowledge and liberty, civil and religious, and a capacity for its enjoyment, over the largest possible space. This is the great idea of emigration in our time. We cannot stop it, and we ought not to desire to stop it. It may have its inconveniences. It brings among us persons who are not acquainted with our system. They bring, perhaps, in too many cases, too much of the notions in which they have been bred, to the country to which they come. This is the affair of a generation; but this evil is suppressed and done away with, in a great measure, in the succeeding generation; and among all foreigners this side and beyond the Mississippi—Englishmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen—they become, in not many years, all Americans, like ourselves.

We cannot arrest this course of things if we would, and ought not to arrest it if we could. It is in the order of things and the destiny of nations, which is prescribed by the Providence of God, to which we must submit.

There is another sort of emigration from the Western to the Eastern hemisphere, and that is the emigration of the free coloured race—with some degree of information, with some notions of religion and free government, and some notions of what belongs to civilized life, from the United States—back to the land of Ham, from which their forefathers were brought in chains and Slavery.

I do not know, and do not profess to foresee, what may happen in years to come, but I say with frankness and confidence that it appears to me that the emigration of free blacks from this country to Africa is designed to produce great good.

The result would be the separation of the two races, so as to enable each to pursue its own ends and institutions; and this, I think, alone is what humanity requires, under the same influence of public liberty, and under the same lights of Christianity. This appears to me both practicable and desirable. There are probably half a million in the United States of the African race free, *free*. Well, it is a great work to place them in a condition and in a place where they cannot only be free, but subject to no feelings of inferiority? No man flourishes, no man grows in a state of conscious inferiority, any more than a vegetable grows in the dark. He must come out and feel his equality, enjoy the shining sun in the heavens, like those around him, before he feels that he is, in all respects, a man (applause). It appears that, by emigration, it is not impracticable to send a hundred thousand persons to Africa in a year. Without a violation of analogies, which we have followed in other cases, in pursuance of commercial relations, it is within our constitutional powers and the provisions of the Constitution, as a part of our commercial arrangements, just as we enter into treaties and pass laws for the suppression of the slave trade. If we look to other instances we shall see how great may be the emigration of these individuals with slight means from Goverment.

What has been the result within the last few years of emigration from Ireland. If the efforts of this Society, sustained and endouraged by the General Government, should in five years accomplish half as much as has been accomplished in Ireland by individual action and by slight governmental aid, in the emigration of persons from Ireland, the whole work would be done. One million and a half of persons have become emigrants from Ireland within a very few years. They come hither or go to other parts of the earth with a wish to join the white race; labouring men, in the general well disposed, they go into our forests. At first they are not well acquainted with our institutions, but they gradually become acquainted with them. Accustoming themselves to the general tone of society, they become more industrious in the next generation—they are Americans without regard to origin. If to this extent Ireland is drained of her population—some few going to Canada and to Australia—if her population is diminished one million and a half within five years, what could we not do, when we see all these people coming hither to join the whites, in sending free black persons to join other free black persons in the country of their ancestors?

At this late period of the evening, it is not my intention to pursue these remarks. I concur entirely in the views suggested in both resolutions. I wish prosperity to this institution. I wish to see done that which most comports with the interests, and character, and improvement of all these persons of colour who are free, and who choose to go to a country of their own. I think that it is for their interest, and the interest of the country itself, especially for the North—I will say nothing of the South, with which I am not so much acquainted—but I believe that it is right and expedient to follow the example of the patriarchs, and say to our black fellow-citizens: "Take the right and we will take the left. Let us be harmonious, and wish each other well, and let us do all we can for the happiness and prosperity of all, and trust to God that in the land of your fathers you may be happier than you are here; and when you shall have left us, we shall not be less happy than if you had remained among us."

The honourable gentleman was frequently interrupted by applause during the delivery of his remarks, of which the above is but the substance.

Mr. Webster invited other gentlemen to address the meeting, but they declined.

The resolution of the Hon. Mr. Stanton and that of the Rev. Mr. Slaughter were then unanimously agreed to; and, at half-past 9 o'clock, the Society adjourned.

### *AMERICAN COLONISATION SOCIETY.*

THE thirty-fifth anniversary of this society was held at Washington City, on the 20th ult. A large number were present, among whom were the President of the United States, several members of the Cabinet, Justices of the Supreme Court, and many members of Congress.

Mr. Webster, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Clay, who is President of the society.

The annual report of the Secretary states the total amount of the receipts of the society from all sources, during the past year, at $97,443 77—a much larger amount than was received during any preceding year. It includes the sum of $37,890 received from the United States by an act of Congress, passed last session, in consideration of expenses incurred and means used by the Society in the care and support of the liberated Africans who were landed at Monrovia, in Liberia, from the slave ship Pons, in December, 1845.

During the past year the Society have sent a larger number than during any preceeding year since its first organisation and, had they not been partially thwarted by circumstances beyond their control, with reference to the emigration during the year of others whom they expected to send, and who will probably go during the present year, the total number of emigrants for 1851, would have been still farther and largely increased. There were seven expeditions to Liberia during the year.

The abstract of the report which we have met with in the Washington papers, does not state what is the precise number of emigrants sent out. The condition and prospects of the colony at Liberia are described as extremely favourable. The political jurisdiction of the Republic extends over a tract of country on the western coast of Africa from the mouth of the Shebar river, on the north, which is near the Southern boundary of the British colony of Sierra Leone, to the Northern boundary of "Maryland in Liberia." The distance along the seacoast is about five hundred miles, which added to the territory within the jurisdiction of the Maryland colony, makes the seaboard extent of the two colonies about six hundred miles. The present emigrant population of the Republic is about six or seven thousand, and the number of native inhabitants residing within the territory of the Republic is probably one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand, many of whom, through the example, influence, and agency of the citizens and Government of Liberia, have made rapid advances in civilization and christianity.

The principal topic discussed at the meeting was the expediency of colonisation as a mercy to the free blacks.

Mr. Stanton, who represents the Memphis district in Congress, made an elaborate speech, in which he discussed three propositions; first, that the people of the Northern States are not benefited, on the contrary are positively injured, by the presence of the free blacks; secondly, that the people of the Southern States, both white and black, slave and free are not benefited by the presence of free blacks, but, on the contrary, are positively injured; and, thirdly, that the free blacks themselves cannot be really free and prosperous, in contact with the white race.

The same ideas were expressed in another and powerful quarter, by Mr. Webster, speaking for the Northern section. He spoke with his habitual gravity and deliberation, and pronounced the exportation of free blacks from this country a physical and moral necessity for their preservation. He declares for the impossibility, decreed by the "instinctive repulsions of a thousand years," that the black and white race can live together in a state of equality. "The separation of the two races, so as to enable each to pursue its own ends, and institutions, and own functions alone," is, in his judgment, absolutely required by considerations of humanity, to a race of men who can never be treated, among the whites of the continent, as other than an inferior class, and must consequently inevitably decay.

There is, apart from the immediate scheme of alleviating some of the pressing evils of this inexorable law, a significant acknowledgement of more national importance, than at present appears; important to the permanent welfare of the whole race, and of the slave population, as well as to the Pariah race of freed blacks. They are pronounced by the most potent voice among the people, where only they have a hope for an abiding place, even for a single generation, to be doomed to hopeless degradation and inevitable extinction. Humanity cannot elevate or preserve them. There, too, the repugnances of a thousand years are increasing, as the danger of an influx of their numbers from other regions increases, and threaten them with total exclusion. State after State utters a ban upon them, until there is scarcely one, however remote, and yet lightly touched by the repulsive association, that is not moved with some projects to keep off the threatened contamination, as though it were a moral plague, against which some powerful sanitary protection is required for the preservation of the health of the body politic. The folly of fanatics of the same States is compelling the South to press with more and more necessary rigour upon this class of its population, and to debate the policy of driving them sternly and utterly away. The pressure from that quarter once begun cannot be relaxed; the human tide driven northward can have no refluent wave. Onward it must go; and meeting the obstacles which pride, prejudice, and policy are erecting in the North, what is left for this half million of outcasts but extirpation, their utter destruction from the face of the earth; and not this half million only, but for thousands after thousands more, which the same reckless wickedness might draw into the same host to be sacrified.

It is an awful picture to contemplate, and not the least of its horrors is the conflict of evil passions and mistaken interests, which is generated among the superior races, by the furious agitations of which these blacks bond and free are made the topics and pretexts; agitations which have disturbed their most valued social relation, and put in peril their very form of government and political unity, and which have thrown upon the country a host of declaimers and demagogues, to strain constitutions, disobey laws, deride and deny the obligations of good faith, and risk and provoke revolution, with the only possible practical effect upon the slave of making him discontented with a position, in which only he is safe in this country, and multiplying a race of outcasts, helpless and unfriended, to whom they are unwilling to extend shelter among themselves, whom they cannot elevate if they would, and dare not risk their own peace in trying; and thus deliberately doom to a fellowship of misery and certain and speedy destruction.

Is there not a lesson in all this to reach the understanding of the most furious zealot, to touch the heart of the most hardened speculator in politics? Does it teach them that theoretical abolition is false humanity, that practical abolitionism is not merely an element of disorder and discord in the State, but practical cruelty to large masses? and does it not show to the considerate men of the North, who have not been inflamed beyond the control of their judgment, or perverted by mere calculations of selfish profit to be made out of general loss and distress, that the furious haste of Anti-Slavery demagogueism is, in most cases, part rant, and chiefly hypocrisy, wickedly unreasoning, or more wickedly, sordidly and recklessly cruel? Such reflections, and such acknowledgments, ought to show, clear as light, the duties which true humanity teaches and illustrates so unmistakeably by the magnitude of the evils which lie in the path of disobedience and error; and to inculcate a wise and humbling caution against rash interference with an ordinance of Providence towards a large part of the human race, which it is past their understanding to overrule, if they were not, moreover, forbidden by so many sacred obligations to touch it, without creating discord unappeasable and sufferings incalculable.—*N. O. Picayune*

### *THE PULPIT'S SPHERE AND DUTIES.*

WE (*Journal of Commerce*) subjoin an extract from a sermon preached at New Haven, December 14th, by Rev. Edward Strong, pastor of the College street Church in that city, on "The Pulpit's Sphere and Duties," and published at the request of a large number of his people. The occasion was the 9th anniversary of his settlement; the text, 2nd Peter, 1st chapter, 12th and 13th verses, "Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth. Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance."

The aspect presented in the text, of a pastor's appropriate work, was stated to be—

I. To stir up the minds of his people.

II. He is to do this emphatically by the reiteration of truths found in the Bible. Under this head the preacher remarked, that the duty here enjoined, does *not* include the habit of religious speculation. Nor an habitual straining after new truths. On each of these point he dwelt with appropriateness and effect. He then proceeded as follows:

Nor again, in reply to the question, how pastors are to stir up religiously the mind of the people, are they to do it *by inconsiderate agitation of exciting questions*. Probably there never was a time, since the first sermon was preached by the Saviour personally on the Mount, when there have not been exciting questions among the people, questions whose moral and religious bearing a sagacious mind cannot but see. And what I mean to say is, that it is not the appropriate work of a minister, in stirring up the mind of his congregation, to put himself at the head of one or the other party on these questions. If his object be simply to agitate the public mind, there is indeed no surer or cheaper method than this. It requires very little capital, either in learning, talent, or piety. It only requires a sanguine and zealous temperament. With this alone a pastor can take hold of these questions, and keep the public in a blaze, till its excitability either breaks forth into violence or fairly burns out. But because some of these questions have an important religious bearing, "are we not," it will be asked, "liable to mis-conceive the appropriate duty of the ministry in regard to them?" Admit that it is a prominent feature in the work of the ministry to agitate the public mind. Yet, be it remembered, this must be done only with reference to one subject, religion, together with whatever it appropriately includes; only with reference to the soul and eternity. Doubtless it may require the wisdom of a serpent to blend with the harmlessness of a dove. Doubtless a pastor should offer much prayer to God for guidance in determining where he should leave the discussion and enforcement of principles, to put himself at the head of a part of his congregation, and lead an assault upon those social and political evils which clearly take hold of conscience and religion. It may reasonably, we think, be questioned whether he should *ever* do it; I mean do it from the pulpit as part of his public preaching.

If questions like those of legislative action on the subject of temperance, the duty of northern Christians on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the duty of every man on the general subject of Slavery—where, when, and how he should lift his voice against it—agitate the public mind, what shall the ministry do? "May our religious teachers," you will ask, "be silent on these subjects?" Certainly not. But the question is, whether their voice shall be heard on these topics in the pulpit? It is whether, so long as honest men differ, not so much indeed on the merits of these questions, as on the proper mode in which to secure what is demanded by religion and the social weal, whether the ministry shall pursue a course fitted to identify the pulpit with party? No, verily. There is but one party with which the pulpit may legitimately be identified, that of Christ against Satan, that of holiness against sin. Its legitimate work therefore is to set forth, along with the doctrines of faith and repentance, principles that will remove social evils, reclaiming the vicious, reforming the intemperate, saving from ruin the virtuous, and emancipating the slave. When the question has come to be agitated, *how* the municipal law shall grapple with these evils and with national sins, then, we insist, that the question is taken out of the legitimate sphere of pulpit themes. It has become a question for legislators and constituents in their political capacities. It has become a question more or less of party. "Are Christians, then," you may ask, "to leave it, ere the work is done? Has the ministry done its whole duty after discussing and enforcing the religious principle that covers the agitated question?" By no means. But sermons, we insist, have done their duty. The pulpit has but to put the people in remembrance on the great principles of salvation or of temperance and of humanity, by reiterating them as occasion may require.

Besides this, indeed, each minister of the gospel has doubtless a duty to perform in his capacity as a private individual, as a Christian patriot. He, in common with his people, wields resources of influence by conversation and by the franchise. These, of course, he must bring to bear as an enlightened conscience may direct. He will thus be carrying into practice his religious principles, becoming not so much a partisan, as a pattern to the believers of good works.

I am well aware that this view of the legitimate work of the ministry may not accord, in all particulars, with that of some in this congregation. Yet, possibly their previous views demand modification. Whether this be so, or whether my own views require modification, it will be well for us to weigh the matter in the scale of the Bible and of sound discretion. Let us be candid, as I doubt not we are honest, in the opinions we entertain.

The statement before us is, that the pulpit is not the place, as the Sabbath is not the time, to agitate exciting questions on which the judgment and conscience of good men differ, although these questions confessedly have an important bearing, religious as well as political. They are indeed to be discussed by good men, by religious teachers, if you please, but in other places and at other times than the Sabbath. The alternative, you will observe, is not discussion in the pulpit or no discussion at all. There are other places than the pulpit, other times than the Sabbath, opportunities all that the themes demand.

Is this view correct? Let us look at the subject with Christian candour and charity. And we will first inquire, whether our divine Saviour, in his doctrine or example, has not furnished some light in regard to the duty of those who bear his commission. Certainly there were vexed questions in His day, political, moral and religious. For example, there was the question of political supremacy, tribute to Cæsar or no; one which, in the view of the people, had an important religious bearing; and there was the question between the Jews and Samaritans. There was the social evil of publican extortion, involving all manner of outrage and crime. There were the social evils too of war and Slavery, together with the ordinary vices of depraved society. These latter evils existed in Christ's day in all their magnitude.

Now, can it be doubted that our Saviour had intelligent convictions of the right, the true, and the humane on these questions and evils? Are we to suppose him ignorant or indifferent? How, then, did he deal with them? He did not dwell upon them; seldom if ever did he agitate them. True, indeed, when they were introduced, he boldly uttered the truth. He rebuked sin in whatever form. But whoever reads the history of his public ministry and teaching, will not fail to perceive that he chiefly aimed to set forth the great principles of righteousness and spiritual religion, intending, and no doubt expecting, that these would prove a moral power adequate to correct the evils of society. For he ever inculcated the duty of his disciples, not simply to embrace correct principles, but to carry them into all the concerns of life. For example the Sadducean heresy was a vital one. How then did he deal with it? Aware that in denying the ressurrection of body or spirit they virtually took infidel ground, yet, inasmuch as they constituted a powerful party against the more orthodox Jews, he contents himself seemingly with setting forth man's duty and immortality, forbearing all discussion of this as a party question, until it was forced upon him by the Sadducees themselves, in the question regarding the seven brethren. All his instruction bespoke his belief in the immortality of man, and thus bore sufficiently against the Sadducean error. The bribery and corruption of the government in his day was a prodigious evil. The revolutionary spirit was rife, multitudes supposing that it was almost a religious duty to throw off the Roman yoke. And what we wish you to notice is, that the Saviour does not needlessly agitate these social questions which divided the Jews into parties. He indeed rebukes numerous social vices and sins, as formalism, divorce, and the like. These, however, were not questions on which honest men differ. They were clearly, demonstrably, and confessedly, wrong.

Far be it from us to impute to the Saviour, what some might fancy, connivance at evil. On the contrary, never was there a plainer or bolder preacher. He was, however, discriminating in his plainness. He uttered truths and enforced duties only as the people, in his judgment, were able to bear them. And he kept back important truths till he perceived the time had come for their utterance.

True it is, that, in one aspect, he came to send not peace, but division and a sword. Who will pretend, however, that this was because he was not an earnest peace-maker? Was it not rather because the pure principles which he came to unfold were so irreconcileable with human depravity, that their proclamation and adoption, by but a portion of mankind, must inevitable lead to division, persecution and blood? Even so. We urge then the delicacy and forbearance, ever manifested by the Saviour, respecting topics which, while having a moral bearing, had also a political and partisan character, as an example for his ministers. It should at least induce them to avoid a needless commingling of controverted questions with the ordinary doctrines of religion. Especially so long as it cannot be urged that the pulpit is requisite to pour light upon these questions, the path of duty being, or capable of being, illumined from a thousand other sources, as by conversation, lectures, and the press.

But apart from what appears to have been our Saviour's habit, let us examine the subject in the light of a sound discretion. Plainly, the object of a pastor should be to accomplish most for the salvation of souls, for the purity and elevation of society, and thus for the honour of God. Imagine him now introducing, in frequent discussion, not simply Slavery, for example, as a system of oppression on which Christianity can only frown, but also those *plans for its removal* on which men differ, or those features of political compromise, which are thought by many to fortify it. The fact that these plans and compromises are exciting political parties in the country, putting individuals in every congregation in mutual and earnest antagonism, renders it impossible for them to be discussed by ministers, on the Sabbath, without calling up the spirit of *party*, more than of *piety*, in the congregation, and thus probably doing harm rather than good. It is easier to call up this spirit than to allay it. The effect of discussing these topics uniformly, is to agitate indeed the public mind, but not in the best manner to remove the evil. No doubt ministers, as well as their people, must act for liberty and humanity—act with whole hearts. We maintain nothing to the contrary of this; but wherein the question of personal duty becomes, among intelligent and honest men, controverted and partisan, there we apprehend they are to exert their appropriate influence, not in the pulpit, but in private life—not as preachers of the gospel, but as private citizens. Clearly, if they rend their congregations asunder, heading one part against the other, they need not think thereby especially to glorify God; for certainly they do not study the things that make for peace, and wherewith one may edify another. And this should manifestly dissuade them from the course here condemned.

Besides, there is a more excellent way of stirring the hearts of the congregation, whether in favour of virtue, liberty, or religion. It is not ordinarily the best way of taking a military fortress to march boldly against it when its gates are shut, its fosses filled, its batteries unmasked, and its artillery opened upon us. A surer and cheaper method, for the most part, is to persuade its defenders, or secretly undermine its fortifications. So with a fortress of error. So with a social evil, or a national sin. Many times, if not always, a faithful exhibition of what is right—a development of truth and duty—an urgent plying of the abettors of a social evil, ere yet it has become political and partisan, with appeals, will soon accomplish the desired result. Especially, where there is a real disagreement of opinion on the subject in question. This will prove a better method than open and bold assault, since the latter often serves but to brace the mind of opponents to a more wilful tenacity of evil.

Do we not take the course here recommended in all ordinary cases? Do we not rely on the efficacy of truths and principles, exhibited in the pulpit, to correct manifold errors in sentiment and in practice? For example, the seventh commandment seldom or never is formally presented in a pulpit discussion, and we think rightly, because the entire spirit of almost any pastor's ministrations is for purity, and bears ample testimony against breaches of this command.

The ninth command is perhaps as seldom presented in form, and for the same reason, viz., that the entire scope of every pastor's preaching is against falsehood and perjury. Some of the most erratic religious sects, too, whose errors are confessedly pernicious, are we do not say *never*, but seldom attacked in form from the pulpit. Such is the Mormon, the Swedenborgian, the Unitarian, and the Universalist. In our community, certainly, it is not necessary, nor, I apprehend, would it be wise, to agitate these peculiar errors. In some communities, it may be important to do so. *Here*, we may rely on the fact, that the whole tenour of our pulpit ministrations bears amply against these errorists. So we may rely on the faithful exhibition of the great principles of humanity, righteousness, and godliness, especially when their application to a topic like that of Slavery, is abundantly shown from a thousand sources aside from the pulpit—I say, we may rely on the discussion, by the ministry, of these principles, apart from any proposed measures, as a means which God will more bless for the removal of such an evil, than the directer mingling of the pulpit in it, where it relates to measures controverted even by good men.

If now, before dismissing a topic on which the circumstances of the times in which we live, and the diverse preferences of individuals among my people, seemed to render it desirable that I should dwell at considerable length—if we glance at the indications of the Master's will, in relation to this matter, I think we shall find that those ministries which have pursued the course here recommended, other things being equal, have been most blessed of God in winning souls. I say other things being equal, because the zeal and infidelity in other particulars, of ministers, are very various. But those who have presented the gospel, stirring up the minds of their people by putting them in remembrance of those truths on which pre-eminently salvation hinges, avoiding whatever would minister questions rather than godly edifying, have, we think, been most honoured in the edification of the church and in the salvation of sinners.

Such are a few of the reasons why, in considering the appropriate work of the ministry, I have remarked, in addition to other particulars, that it should avoid, if possible, the agitation of those exciting questions on which even good men differ. Such accordingly are some of the reasons why, during the last nine years, I have forborne to agitate questions of this kind—why I have not preached in earnest opposition to secret societies, or on legislative action in favour of temperance, or on the yet more exciting topic of the Fugitive Slave Law. The *principles* that bear on these topics I have, notwithstanding clearly set forth. None of you can be at a loss relative to what I suppose the Bible teaches on these subjects, or how I feel in regard to them. Had I taken a different course, differing, as you do, regarding the influence of secret societies, and the best methods of ridding our country of the monstrous evils of intemperance and Slavery, I have no reason to suppose that we could this day rejoice in our universal harmony, and great outward prosperity. In common with all the churches of this vicinity, we indeed mourn the hidings of God's face, but we find ample explanation of this in our absorption in the world. But let us hope that while studying to avoid questions that gender strife, so far at least as it may be done without compromise of religious principle, we may the sooner return to Christ with one accord, and rejoice anew in the visits of his grace.

The next point in the discourse is, that a pastor is not to stir up the minds of his people by denunciation, or declamation:

What then (he asks) shall we decide upon as the true method for the pulpit of agitating the public mind? I answer, precisely that of the Apostle, namely, *by putting the hearers in remembrance of the great truths that involve man's weal or woe for eternity*, by teaching the way of life, presenting the attractions of the Cross, and the alarms of retribution; in short, by keeping these truths and motives in contact with the soul, till the Holy Spirit, through them, arouses the careless to repent, or through them sanctifies His chosen.

## Selections.

WE find in the Chester county (Pa.) papers the following proceedings of a public meeting relative to the Miller tragedy:

EAST NOTTINGHAM, Feb. 7, 1852.

A very numerous and respectable meeting of persons interested in the recent deplorable kidnapping case in West Nottingham township, assembled in the School House at Hopewell, on Friday evening, the 6th inst. The meeting was called partly to effect an organization of effort in the prosecution of the suit for the freedom of Rachel Parker, and other matters pertaining to the case; and partly to hear from the physicians who lately examined the body of Joseph C. Miller, a statement of their investigations and conclusions; and was called to order by Isaac Spear, Esq.; and on motion was organized by the appointment of WILLIAM C. WORTH, Esq., of Lancaster county, President; and JNO. MCCLURG, of Lower Oxford, and THOS. HAMIL, of New London township, Vice Presidents, and *Dr. John N. Rowland*, and *D. D. Dickey*, of East Nottingham, Secretaries. On motion a committee of five were appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, and while they were thus engaged, Drs. Hutchinson and Dickey, being present, by request, were heard, and who gave a circumstantial statement of their critical anatomical examination of the body of Joseph C. Miller, and of the subsequent analysis of his stomach, finally expressing their unwavering conviction that Miller died from the effects of poison, and was never hung until after death had already done its work, and this belief the whole auditory, after hearing their interesting and very explicit statements, unhesitatingly concurred in. Some business relative to the recovery of the sister of Rachel Parker, who had recently been kidnapped and sold, and to the raising of funds for the prosecution of the suits was then transacted, after which, the Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it has been proven that a certain Thomas McCreary, of Elkton, Cecil county, Md., with others, as infamous as himself, entered on the twenty-ninth day of December last the peaceful domicil of our late friend and fellow citizen Joseph C. Miller, West Nottingham township, Chester co., Pa., and by force and violence, kidnapped and carried away out of the State of her birth, Rachel Parker, an intelligent, free coloured girl, long an inmate of the family, into the State of Maryland, there to be sold into perpetual slavery,

And Whereas, our lamented friend Joseph C. Miller, encouraged by our laws, and the promptings of a kind and benevolent heart, in company with others, equally humane, pursued these negro stealers to Baltimore, Md., were assisted by some noble and law-loving citizens of that city, succeeded in having the principal thief arrested, and in wresting the girl from his unwilling grasp; and then after being most kindly entertained by a generous and hospitable Baltimorean, were seated in the night line of cars, hoping soon to be again returned to their absent and anxious families, and to the love and comforts of home—but alas! for the success of human calculations and human hopes! Our friend Miller, having occasion to leave the cars for a moment, the coadjutors and abettors, or tools of the kidnappers, fearful doubtless of his testimony, stealthily hurried him, as we believe, away from his friends, and then, by deception or force, inhumanly administered to him a quantity of arsenic, that death might ensue and yet no outward trace be found—and then to cloak their foul iniquity, conveyed him into the country, where he was found, and as a cunning *ruse*, hung him by the neck to induce the belief that he had put a violent end to himself, thus recklessly blasting, eternally as they hoped, the reputation of our friend in his death,

And Whereas, the body of our friend was meanly, almost brutally buried, by the officers of the first inquest,

And Whereas, the testimony of our most esteemed and respectable countrymen, was lightly regarded by many citizens of Maryland and Baltimore.

And Whereas, a certain John Merritt, one of McCreary's coadjutors, by his testimony recently given in Baltimore, blackened and sullied the fair fame of our deceased friend, by oaths that we believe to be false. Therefore,

Resolved, That from a personal knowledge and intimate acquaintance with the girl, Rachel Parker, on the part of many of us, we know and believe her to be a free born citizen of our county.

Resolved, That we honour the humanity and benevolence of our late friend, Joseph C. Miller, in his earnest pursuit of the villains, who desecrating the sanctity of his home, had forcibly stolen from it the young girl under his protection, and that we feelingly lament his deplorable and untimely end.

Resolved, That from the testimony we have heard from the Physicians making the recent examination of his body, and stomach, and from other circumstances, that it is our unwavering conviction and belief, that Joseph C. Miller was MURDERED by the administration of arsenic to him by some person or persons unknown, connected with the abduction or detention of the girl, and who afterwards suspended him by the neck where he was found, that it might be supposed and believed that he committed the rash and unholy act himself.

Resolved, That we view with deep regret and abhorrence, the inhumanity displayed by the officers and jury who held the first inquest on the body of our late friend, by denying to it the usual Christian offices and burial afforded to the dead, and refusing to it an appropriate resting place.

Resolved, That while we avow ourselves the unqualified supporters of law and order, and also abiders by the compromises and guarantied rights of the Constitution of the United States, we claim and expect as our right and due of all men in every State, the untrammelled and impartial recognition of our demands under the law of whatsoever kind.

Resolved, That in the testimony of Jno. Merritt, one of the coadjutors of McCreary in his work of villany, we perceive a most unhallowed desire to steep in infamy the memory of murdered innocence by wilful perjury, as we believe, designed to screen the guilty.

Resolved, That we bitterly lament that the officers and Jury and Physicians, who held the second inquest, performing but a partial post mortem examination of the body of our deceased friend, had not carried their research further; feeling assured that they would have found incontrovertible evidence impelling them to give to the public a verdict the reverse of the one they rendered.

Resolved, That the family and connections of our late friend, Joseph C. Miller, have our warmest and most heartfelt sympathies, in their deep and poignant affliction consequent in their late painful bereavement.

Resolved, That we tender our earnest thanks to those citizens of Baltimore, who have interested themselves in securing justice to our cause, and for their kind generous hospitality extended to the witnesses from our neighbourhood.

Resolved, That these Resolutions and Preamble, with a notice of the meeting, be published in the several papers of this county.

On motion adjourned.

WM. C. WORTH, Pre sident.

JNO. MCCLURG, THOMAS HAMIL, } Vice Presidents.

DR. JNO. N. ROWLAND, DR. D. DICKEY, } Secretaries.

### *POSITION OF THE COLOURED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.*

GOVERNOR HUNT, of this State, in his late message, has devoted some paragraphs to the position and ultimate destiny of the African race on this continent; a subject which we agree with him is one eminently worthy to engage the attention of the humane and benevolent. After stating the importance of discarding passion and prejudices, looking at realities, and taking a practical view of the subject, he goes on to speak of their depressed condition in New York and the free States, and to recommend the emigration of the free coloured people to Africa, under the auspices of the Colonisation Society. As the remarks of Governor Hunt probably represent the opinions entertained on this subject by a large number of our fellow-citizens, whose superior wisdom and excellence of character exercise a great influence, and as, nevertheless, we are compelled to differ from them on this question, we proceed to examine some of the positions of the Governor.

In the first place, we premise that we have no objection, but quite the contrary, to the movements of the Colonisation Society, so long as they are limited to their proper objects, and advocated on proper grounds. The proper objects of the Colonisation Society are to establish a colony on the coast of Africa, composed of those persons, coloured or white, who wish to go there, in order to prevent as far as possible, the African slave-trade; to do something toward the civilization and christianizing of Africa, and toward opening a sphere for the coloured man in some respects more eligible than that which he occupies in this country. But when the object of the Colonisation Society is declared to be, either to put an end to Slavery at the South, or to remove the free coloured people from among us, as an inconvenient class, we then feel bound to oppose it. And when it urges its claims on the ground that the slaves cannot be emancipated and stay where they are, or that the present disabilities of the free coloured people are founded in a prejudice which can never be removed, we must then regard the friends of Colonisation as being, for the time, the enemies of Christianity, democracy, and the true interests of our country, and join issue with them on that ground.

We agree with Governor Hunt, that this question should be looked at in a practical point of view. Let us then look at the facts. We have in this country, by the last census, 3,198,324 slaves, and 428,637 free coloured people. Now no sensible man, North or South, believes that Slavery is to continue forever in this country. Very few believe that it can continue fifty years longer. But if Slavery comes to an end, the slaves must either continue in this country as freemen, or be sent out of it. We ask our practical friends to consider the practicability of sending even the present number of three millions and a half of coloured people to Africa. The cost of transporting a coloured person to Africa, without allowing anything for his support after he gets there, is computed by the Colonisation Society to be thirty dollars. According to this, the mere cost of transporting the present coloured population of the United States to Africa, would be a hundred millions of dollars. But this amount of money might perhaps be voted by the States, or the Union, and this is one of the smallest difficulties. Who is to make this three millions of people *willing* to go? How are they to be supported after their arrival? Who are to fill the place of this great class of labourers taken from the soil of the Union and transferred to another continent? It is indeed computed that a million and a half of foreigners have come to this country within the last ten years. But they have brought labour, where labour is the great thing in demand. They have spread themselves over a cultivated and civilized country

he Samaritans," thought that their prejudice was at natural instinct, which could never be "extirpated from the human heart." Possibly the wise men among them who heard the parable of the Good Samaritan from the lips of Jesus, regarded his efforts to remove this prejudice as a piece of "misdirected and chimerical philanthropy." No doubt some of them may have said that "the instincts of nature, too powerful to be counteracted by the refinements of an abstract reasoning," proclaimed that the two races must be always distinct.

In like manner, no doubt, the wise men among the Jewish Christians considered Paul's plan of admitting the Gentiles on equal terms to the privileges of the Christian Church, to be wholly chimerical. They said, no doubt, that you must take human nature as it is; and that it was out of the question that such "instincts of the human heart" as those which separated Jew and Gentile, could ever be overcome. But Paul knew that the great social problems of the world are not to be solved by evading the difficulties, but by meeting them; and so, meeting and overcoming the difficulty, he laid the foundation for European civilization.

After the Norman Conquest, for a long period, the Anglo-Saxons were regarded by their tyrants as belonging to an inferior race. They were considered no better than brutes and idiots. "Ignoble grooms, base scum of armies," say the old annalists, "did as they pleased with the noblest of the Anglo-Saxons." Every Saxon bishop was displaced by a Norman. Thierry, in his account of the Norman conquest, describes two races existing side by side, but perfectly distinct in the same country. "The land of the Normans, rich and free from taxes; that of the Saxons, poor and oppressed with burdens. The first adorned with vast mansions, the second sprinkled with half-ruined huts; that peopled with happy, idle people, this inhabited by men of toil and sorrow. On the one side luxury and insolence, on the other, misery and envy; each having its separate language; the French that of the court and the castles, the English confined to the hearth of the serf. Long, from generation to generation, did these two idioms continue to subsist without mixing with each other; remaining, the one the token of nobility, the other the token of base estate." Thus speaks the great historian. No doubt the Normans would have said that "every scheme for the elevation of the" Anglo-Saxon "to a position of equality and full citizenship in" England "must prove delusive until pride and the sense of superiority shall have been extirpated from the human heart." And yet, to-day, to belong to the Anglo-Saxon race is the proudest boast of Englishmen or Americans, and the *great destiny* of the Anglo-Saxons is the cant phrase of the day.

A century and a half ago, Macauly tells us that the English regarded the Irish as belonging to an inferior race. "No man of English blood," he says, "then regarded the aboriginal Irish as his countrymen. They did not belong to our branch of the great human family. They were distinguished from us by more than one moral and intellectual peculiarity, which the difference of education and situation, great as that difference was, did not seem altogether to explain. They had an aspect of their own, a mother-tongue of their own. When they talked English, their pronunciation was ludicrous, their phraseology grotesque. They were therefore foreigners, and of all foreigners the most hated and despised; the most hated, for they had been our enemies during five centuries; the most despised, for they were our vanquished, enslaved, and despoiled enemies. The Englishman was a freeman; the Irish, hereditary serfs. He knew that the whole Irish population had been held down by a small English colony, and he very complacently inferred that he was *naturally a being of a higher order than the Irishman; for it is thus that a dominant race* ALWAYS *explains its ascendency and excuses its tyranny.*" Some of the English race have grown wiser, but many even now have the same feeling about the Irish that we have about the African, use the same language and arguments, and are as glad to see their country depopulated of the labouring class by emigration to America, as we should be to see our Southern States depopulated of their labouring class by emigration to Africa.

Such facts show that prejudices apparently as ineradicable, an antipathy quite as deep of race against race, as that which now has the African race for its object, have existed before, and have been removed. These races, supposed to be idiotic, barbarous, and incapable of civilization, have produced Shakspeare, and Milton, Burke and Goldsmith. The fact that a prejudice now exists against the negro is certain. The question is, whether it is a Christian feeling or an unbidden feeling. If it be unchristian then is it not our duty to overcome it, or, at all events, to endeavour to overcome it, instead of acquiescing in it as a matter of necessity?

If the American prejudice against colour springs from the instincts of nature, how happens it that it does not exist in England, in France, in South America, in the West Indies, in Mexico, in short, anywhere but in the United States? Educated men of colour are received on equal terms into society in all these countries, hold offices in the Church, the State, and the army, and have as open a career as men of any other race. Alexandre Dumas, the novelist, is a coloured man, and his father was a general in the French army, and was either a mulatto or a negro. In the West India Islands and South America, public officers are held by blacks, and South Carolina planters, visiting Jamaica, have been brought before black judges to answer for their offences against the laws. A black minister of New York has received a degree of D. D. from the University of Heidelberg, an honour of which white clergymen in the United States would be somewhat proud.

That the African race is incapable of civilization, becomes absurd, when we remember that Africa has given us, not only Egyptian civilization, but the greatest general and the greatest Christian theologian the world has yet seen. Or, if these cannot be proved to have belonged to the negro variety, what shall we say of those who think that the Africans are incapable of civilization while living among a civilized people, and yet advocate sending them to Africa in order that they may civilize that continent? What though the coloured people among us are oppressed by a cruel prejudice; what though they are not allowed to vote, to own pews in costly churches, to enter as students Episcopal Theological Schools. They are still surrounded by civilizing influences, by light, by the air of freedom. There are immense advantages which they possess in the United States, of which no prejudice can deprive them. A man can live and thrive without voting as well as a woman. It is possible to get a knowledge of Christianity elsewhere than in seventy thousand-dollar-churches and Episcopal Theological Schools. It is possible to get a good education, in a land like this, without going to Harvard or Yale. It is possible to accumulate wealth, and to procure the comforts and luxuries of life, even though many occupations and professions are closed against them. But place them in Africa, compel them to contend with disease, to struggle against famine, to live where few comforts can be bought, where few books or schools can be had, where their labour is not wanted, and what sort of a civilization can we expect?

The truth is, that the African Colonisation Society, though founded and supported by many well-meaning men, contains in its very constitution elements fatal to its success. It is a scheme for accomplishing objects so different and so inconsistent with each other, that this variety of purpose makes the whole system impracticable. Some men patronize it because they think it is to overthrow Slavery; others, because they think it will perpetuate Slavery; others, because they think it will Christianize Africa; others, because they love the coloured people, and wish to do something for their benefit; others, again, because they hate the coloured people, and wish to get rid of them. Now each of these objects requires a different sort of plan from the rest. If the object is to Christianize Africa, it should be done by sending able, educated, Christian missionaries into the heart of the continent; not by emptying cargoes of emancipated, half-heathen slaves upon its sickly coast. If the object is to remove the slaves, and so put an end to Slavery, some country should be selected close by, as South America, or the West Indies, to which they can easily be sent, and where their labour is needed. If the object is to benefit the coloured race, that can be best done by promoting their emancipation and civilization on the soil, and by wise and good men recommending to others, and doing what they can themselves, to remove this superficial and cruel prejudice against a dark skin. And if the object be to *perpetuate* Slavery, that can be best accomplished by doing nothing; by shutting out light; by putting a stop to all discussion; by abolishing the freedom of the press, shutting up all the schools of the country, and taking care that no copies of the New Testament be printed which shall contain the command *to love our neighbour as ourselves.*

☞ We are sorry to see that Governor Hunt uses—no doubt by a slip of the pen—the absurd expression of "nat ve soil," as applied to Africa, in regard to the coloured people of this country. Africa is no more the *native country* of coloured people born in America, than England is the *native country* of the white Americans whose ancestors emigrated from it a hundred years ago. The father of General Jackson came from Ireland; but how would Old Hickory have looked if you had told him that you proposed sending him back to his native soil? It would be a gross insult, were it not a ridiculous absurdity, to talk to a coloured man of Africa being his "native country," when he and his parents before him were born and lived, with friends and kindred, in some pleasant village of New York or New England, with which every affection of heart and mind were associated. It is is time that this absurdity should be expunged, at least from the messages of Governors, if it must still prevail in the speeches of demagogues, and the columns of country newspapers.—(*N. Y.*) *Christian Inquirer.*

## National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

††† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1852.

MR. MAYOR, my walks in life have been very much among the masses, and from my birth upward I think I have seen and known enough of the people of this country, and I am sure that if they are not misled, and if they do not give way to temporary prejudices or feelings, there is not upon the face of the earth a people who are more deeply imbued with a sober, sensible and, at the same time, ardent affection and love of Liberty than these people of the United States. The great desire of all is to have a Government that shall protect Industry, protect Labour, secure property, secure reputation and give to every man according to his talent and virtue, and industry, a chance to rise according to his own merits, and not borrowing consequences from his birth, or ancestry, or the artificial circumstances that may surround him, but standing upon his own ground, and upon his own feet, that he may rise to such an elevation that his talents and virtues demand. And long may it be that such a state of things will continue. Who can say? who can define? who can tell us what is to be expected from a change? Here are thirty-two sisters revolving round a common centre, like the planets, all enjoying the same light and illumination, all enjoying its protection, and keeping steady in their places by its even, equal and tranquil gravitation; and in all the States, all men and all parties are entirely at liberty to establish and maintain their own domestic affairs, their agriculture and commerce and manufactures, while here is raised up over all, that great flag, of which we are all proud, held up in the face of nations, to show that whatever elevations, or whatever rivers may divide us, however high or however low a man may be, he is to be protected in all that belongs to him as an American freeman. And you! nations of the earth! take care how you infringe upon the rights or prosperity of any one of them.

Mr. Secretary Webster visited New York last week and delivered an Address before one of those institutions, the existence of which he, more than any other living American, or than any other dead—excepting, perhaps, Benedict Arnold—has most reason to dread; namely the Historical Society. And as every distinguished stranger who comes upon this Island is as inevitably mounted, by the Mayor and Corporation, as all were, who ventured upon that which Sinbad discovered, by the Old Man who governed it, so Mr. Webster, of course, did not escape the common infliction. The above is an extract from his speech made on this occasion.

Mr. Webster is not a man of fine phrases, and seldom speaks without a meaning. Doubtless there is one in this present declaration, if we are lucky enough to find it; though it is not, at first sight, obvious, why a man should necessarily have his walks, all his life long, among the masses anywhere to be assured that they love Liberty unless they are misled, and if they do not give way to prejudices or feelings. It is, we take it, a very safe position to affirm of a people that they either love Liberty, or that they do not love it; and perhaps it is equally safe to say, that if they do not love it, it is because they are misled, or because they have given way to some prejudice or feeling hostile to a self-evident truth.

But Mr. Webster meant more than this. He may have meant, if we may presume to interpret him, that the people of the United States possessed, not merely that innate Love of Liberty which belongs to all men, and to all animated creation as well, but that intelligent appreciation of it, and all the blessings which flow from it, when rightly understood, which forbids at once that it shall ever degenerate into License, or be ever lost for want of care. Demagogues may sometimes mislead such a people, or momentary passion may sometimes cause them to forget what a treasure is given into their keeping; but the ardent affection which is tempered by sober intelligence cannot long be led astray, nor often betrayed into blindness. If such was his meaning, and his words may bear such a construction, they will, it is to be hoped, prove prophetic. If he is right in the high estimate which, he declares, experience has taught him to put upon the character of his countrymen, his own treachery to the zealous object of their love, and his own arts, intended to betray them into forgetfulness of her, will meet with a just return. Their sober second thought will lead them back, contrite and humble, to the feet of their Goddess, and they will turn away with loathing and contempt from the man who has done her such foul dishonour.

But he meant something more than this, and his second meaning is nearer the truth than the first. Liberty in its ideal is one thing; Liberty in the actual, as it is exhibited among those of whom Mr. Webster speaks, is quite another. He whose affection for it is truly ardent, sober, and sensible, loves it not only because he possesses it, but that others may possess it also. In his desire for a government, he asks for one that shall protect the man first, and give him Tariffs, and Commerce, and manufactures, and property, afterwards. Mr. Webster's American citizen desires the Tariffs, and the manufactures; and these he wants for the benefit of those who ask for them, and who are quite able to compel, or to purchase, an acquiescence in their request. If he whose capital carries the cotton, or spins it, is precious in the eyes of the Government, it matters little if it has no eyes for the man who grows it. For him it is only asked that the Government shall have not eyes, but teeth. To him it is not a guardian of his rights, and a protector of his property, but a blood-hound holding him at bay, and seizing him, with relentless grasp, when he asserts even so much as the natural wish to labour on his own behalf. That a son of a New Hampshire farmer may be Secretary of State; that a Boston jobber may be Minister to England; that a New York country lawyer may, by accident, be President; that all white men may be rich if they are lucky, and great if they can; these are very good things, and the Government is a very good one, so far as it goes, that permits and secures them. It is a great and good thing that all such men may rise by their own merits, and stand as they deserve according to their measure of talent, and virtue, and industry, borrowing nothing from the accident of birth, or ancestry, or artificial circumstances. But for such men to create and maintain a Government, that secures those blessings to themselves only, and denies to others the right to stand upon their own feet; the right to work for wages, to hold any property, or to own themselves; the right to be a husband or a wife, or to control their own offspring; the right to have any merit, but the merit of obedience, or any virtue but the virtue of endurance; and all this as a consequence of their birth, as the bitter and sole inheritance from their ancestors, and because of the artificial and vicious circumstances by which they are surrounded; is to make a mockery of the name of Liberty, and a jest of the sober, sensible and ardent affection of it.

But Mr. Webster meant this, and more beside. The prejudices he here speaks of, he has once before called upon his countrymen to conquer. Some natural feeling—we hope not altogether a temporary ebullition—has been aroused against such acts of slave-catching as the country has witnessed within the past two years. He does not doubt that the people love Liberty for themselves, soberly, sensibly, and ardently; he hopes and believes that their affection is no less strong for the enslavement of others. A few days ago, from the very building where he made this speech, one, who was seeking to live here by his own industry, in an humble but respectable position, hoping not "to borrow consequences from his birth," was hurried, on a false pretence to jail, and carried thence, after a mere mockery of trial, into servitude for life. A few months ago, from the same spot, a tailor before whom life was opening promising and prosperous, was given up as a slave on the oath of a stranger from a distance. A wife and children in Pennsylvania have not yet ceased to weep for the husband and father murdered because he ventured to throw obstacles in the way of the kidnapping of a young girl whom he knew was born as free as himself. To dread, and protest against, the recurrence of such acts as these, Mr. Webster thinks, is to be misled. The salvation of the Union, he is sure, depends upon Northern acquiescence in, and submission to, such execrable tyranny, and Tariffs and Manufactures are cheaply purchased if to be had at such a price. The people, he trusts, agree with him. We wish we could believe that he entirely miscalculates the temper and character which belong to them at this moment. But if that is forbidden us, at least we may gratefully accept the testimony of so far-seeing and wise a man that he is far from being altogether right, and that he is in mortal fear of the coming time when he will be altogether wrong. The necessity which lies so heavily and continually upon him of exhorting his countrymen to be steadfast in the faith he promulgates, is broadly significant of the painful doubt that they do not believe in it.

### *TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASS. A. S. SOCIETY.*

WE have received from Mr. Quincy, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, its Twentieth Annual Report. This Society, which was the first, devoted to the immediate Abolition of Slavery, in this country, has been in existence twenty-one years, and rightfully claims to be the parent of all those which, within that time, have been formed with that object. In its Reports, which have been regularly made and issued from the beginning, we have the fullest and a most correct history of the cause, in yearly chapters; and at no time, during its existence, has that task been so faithfully and so ably performed as for the ten years Mr. Quincy has been the Secretary of the Society. He is the contemporaneous historian of the cause, and as the time will come when it will possess great historical interest and importance, so that time also will due full justice to his labours and zeal.

This Twentieth Report, with its appendix, makes a pamphlet of 116 pages. It may be had at all the Anti-Slavery offices; and those who are desirous of refreshing their memories in regard to current events, connected with the agitation of the Anti-Slavery question, and to keep by them the most convenient and reliable authority for reference, will do well to provide themselves with a copy.

We subjoin an extract, being a resumé of the Fugitive Slave cases which have occurred in Boston during the past year, not merely as a specimen of the report, but as a compact and succinct history of those cases, which, we doubt not, most of our readers will like to see:

#### THE RESCUE OF SHADRACH.

Within the limits to which we must confine ourselves, we cannot enter at large into details of all the cases that have occurred, or even do sufficient justice to any of them. Two cases, of very different issues, but which created the widest and deepest excitement, occurred in this city. On the Fifteenth day of February, a coloured man, Shadrach, a waiter in a coffee-house, was arrested by Deputy Marshals Riley and Sawin, under a warrant from Commissioner George T. Curtis, ("fit body to fit head!") while engaged in his honest business. He was taken before the Commissioner, and, after the case was opened, it was adjourned over for a few days. The prisoner, guilty of a suspicion of loving liberty better than Slavery, was to be held in custody in the United States Court Room, as the gaols of Massachusetts are still the only portion of her soil where a Slave cannot breathe. After the adjournment, and while the court room was clearing, a body of coloured men entered the room, invited Shadrach to accompany them, which he lost no time in doing; and before the officials of the United States had recovered from their amazement, he was put beyond the reach of pursuit. An enterprise better contrived and conducted was never known. It was the first sign of spirit that had been shown in Boston since the Tea was thrown into the ocean. But it was shown to an unbelieving generation. The excitement which swelled the breasts of the patriotic "Retainers" of Mr. WEBSTER, when the news was told, was terrific. The newspapers wrung their hands and bewailed the impending downfall of the Republic. The fatal fact was flashed over the wires to Mr. WEBSTER, with the agonizing inquiry, "What's to be done?" And the melancholy response was returned, that "Mr. WEBSTER was very much mortified?"

The occasion was one which seemed to demand unprecedented measures. The Rescue took place on Saturday. On Tuesday, the 18th, the President issued his solemn Proclamation, recounting the frightful occurrence, calling upon all well-disposed citizens, and commanding all officers, civil and military, "found in the vicinity of this outrage, to aid and assist in quelling this and all other such combinations, and to assist in recapturing the above named person." Mr. CLAY brought the matter before the Senate, by a resolution calling on the President for information, though in the nature of things he could have had none that all did not possess, through the telegraphic despatches to the newspapers. An animated debate ensued, in which the peculiar atrocity of this transaction was dwelt upon by Mr. CLAY and other Compromise Senators, while the absurdity of the attitude of the Government towards the Rescuers of Shadrach was well and wittily set forth by Mr. HALE. Immediately after, General Orders came down from the Secretaries of War and the Navy directing the military and naval officers to yield all practicable assistance in the event of such another insurrection. But though the President was mighty, and the Senate potent, and the Heads of our Army and Navy powerful, it was all in vain. Shadrach was beyond the reach of them all. Safe under the protecting shadow of the British sceptre, he defied them all. To be sure, several persons, Messrs. CHARLES G. DAVIS, ELIZUR WRIGHT, LEWIS HAYDEN, JOHN SCOTT, THOMAS P. SMITH, J. P. COBURN, and ROBERT MORRIS were arrested for the crime of participating in this act, and all but the first, bound over for trial, by Mr. Commissioner HALLET. These examinations created the warmest interest in the city and throughout the land. When the trials came on in June, however, in spite of all adverse influences, the juries in the cases of JOHN SCOTT and LEWIS HAYDEN, were unable to agree. The Hon. JOHN P. HALE and RICHARD H. DANA, Jr., Esq., who were the Counsel of the accused in all these cases, distinguished themselves by the zeal, industry, and talent, which they brought to their work.

These trials were of the deeper interest to all who watch intelligently the bearings and remoter issues of contemporary events, from their being the first, within the memory of most men on the stage, in which the Government evinced a strong partisan feeling against the accused. The vindication of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of the conduct of the Government at the time of this occurrence, most earnestly demanded a victim. For almost the first time in our history, the sufficiency of the trial by jury, and of the other safeguards which the wisdom of past time has sought to throw around the liberty of the citizen when confronted with an incensed government, were brought to the test of actual experiment. One of the main objects which the assertors of free governments have ever professed to have in view has been the pure and impartial administration of justice. In England, especially, the efforts to surround the tribunals of the law with such circumstances as should make the Judge inaccessible to temptation and above the breath of suspicion, have been unceasing. Indeed, the whole course of English Constitutional history is marked by these attempts, and its different periods may be distinguished by them as the monuments of its progress. This just and salutary jealousy was inherited by their sons, our ancestors, and the danger to liberty through the undue influence of the Crown over the Judges was one main motive-spring of the Revolution. The influence, direct and indirect, of power over law has always been watched with close scrutiny by all who were jealous for the preservation of inherited or acquired securities of liberty, or earnest to achieve them. The best of laws are nugatory when their administration is left at the mercy of time-serving or power-swayed judges. It was to guard against this abuse of the law by the administrators of the law that the Anglo-Saxon race have made the Trial by Jury a part and parcel of their institutions wherever they have transplanted themselves. It is an appeal, in the last resort, from the glosses of legal ingenuity, the chicanery of the Bar or of the Bench, to the common sense of the common people, having the same interest in the preservation of the purity of the administration of justice as its higher and lower officials, without the bias either might, in times of great political pressure, feel towards the predominant power in the State.

Especially is it in State trials touching the life or liberty of the subject or the citizen that the sanctity of the jury should be most rigidly maintained. And by the sanctity of the jury we mean the observance of all those rules and formalities which stand in the way of the government's packing a jury for its own ends, and which secure to the party accused, as far as human devices can do it, a fair trial by his peers. In a multitude of the cases between man and man, involving nice questions of intricate rights, the decision of a single competent judge would be quite as likely to answer the ends of exact justice as the verdict of Twelve Men selected by lot from the community. But even here, the wise jealousy of the olden time has required that an unlearned but impartial body of twelve men should pass upon every dispute, in the faith that, if they could not unravel and explain a tangled web of law themselves, they could discern when it was properly disentangled, and, if need were, stand between Right and an Arbitrary Judge. But above all, and more than all, is the Anglo-Saxon, the British, the American Necessity of such an impartial body in cases where the Nation denounces one of its members as a just object of its punishments. Woe to the Judge that tampers with this sanction and safeguard of personal liberty, that liberty which it is the first object of civil government to secure! "He that falleth upon this stone shall be broken; and he upon whom it falleth it shall grind him to powder."

The Magistrate who presided at these trials won for himself an unenviable name in connection with the Trial by Jury. When ERSKINE was raised to the peerage, upon his appointment to the Chancellorship, he took for the motto of his coat of arms "TRIAL BY JURY," in commemoration of his memorable victories in behalf of the rights of juries in the State trials of HORNE TOOKE, THELWALL and HARDY. His fame he wisely foresaw would rest chiefly, after his triumphs of the forum had become a tradition, upon what he had done to interpose the barrier of a jury between angry power and its victim. The permanent reputation of Judge SPRAGUE will be connected with recollections quite the opposite of this—recollections of his endeavours, happily thus far fruitless ones, to change the authentic customs, recognized by law, which should regulate the order of the Jury list, to suit the purposes of power. He has distinguished himself, as no Judge has done before, of our time at least, by throwing the whole weight of his influence on the side of power and against the accused parties in a State trial. From his Charge to the Grand Jury down through the whole course of the two trials which have been had thus far, before him, it has been obvious to Bar, to Jury and to Spectator that he had pre-ordained a conviction, and that he was employing his legal acumen and forensic skill to supply the deficiencies of the District Attorney and his Assistant and to do their work. Though veiled, generally, under the suavity and courtesy which mark his manners, this was the impression he conveyed to every unbiased mind. And at times even his habitual self-command was hardly enough to conceal the determined purpose of his soul as the trial proceeded, and the angry disappointment occasioned by their abortive issue.

For some reasons, which we will not attempt to account for, the prosecuting officers seemed to have formed the opinion that Boston and certain neighbouring towns would be more likely to furnish the materials of a pliant Jury than the remoter districts. It became consequently, their wish that the order of the Jury list should be so arranged that the jurors from those places should be first called. Now, the law of the United States says that the Jury in the U. S. Courts shall be made up, as nearly as may be, in accordance with the custom of the State in which it is held. And the laws of Massachusetts ordain that all the jurors, from whatever town they may come, shall be arranged in alphabetical order upon the list. It would appear, then, that the course to be pursued was plainly laid down, and that all the names returned should be placed alphabetically, without regard to the towns from which they came. This would, obviously, be the fairest possible course and give both parties an equal chance, with the least possible danger of the panel being affected by the influence of local biases. But Judge SPRAGUE appointed that the *towns* should be arranged alphabetically, by which course Boston was sure to come first, or nearly so, and the jurors from each town placed alphabetically under it, an arrangement in nowise answering the letter or the spirit of the law. And this, too, in the teeth of his own declaration that he had directed the Clerk to observe the ancient usage, so that there might be no room left for a charge of packing the Jury! Thus making an arrangement differing from the old one, and one not in accordance with the law, but which had the effect of putting the Boston Jurymen into the box!

And then when examining a juror upon the *voir dire*, to ascertain whether or not he had formed or expressed any opinions incompatible with the due performance of his functions, and the juror declared that "he had no feeling in the case except such as sprang from a general sympathy with the oppresed everywhere," Judge SPRAGUE ordered him to stand aside as an incompetent Juror! Could a circumstance be imagined which would express the *animus* of a Judge more strongly than this? Perhaps it is true that a general sympathy with the oppressed *is* a disqualification to a juror in a case where the United States and Slavery are on one side, and a negro or an Abolitionist on the other; but it is an odd decision to be judicially pronounced. That Judge SPRAGUE should have been swift to recognise the constitutionality of the Fugitive Law is perhaps not to be wondered at. But it is rather singular that his regard for his professional reputation should not have made him hesitate to fortify his opinion by the newspaper accounts of the opinions of Judges not duly reported and having no legal weight whatever. Judge SPRAGUE is, doubtless, a learned as well as an acute lawyer, and therefore, perhaps, hesitated to assume the whole burden of that decision. He has virtually ruled out the single virtue of a written Constitution, that it is unalterable by prescription or custom, or any power except that which created it, by arguing from a preface to the letter, instead of compelling the letter to inform and regulate the practice. And he set up, dogmatically, the doctrine which has no good legal authority, but which servile Judges in all time have endeavoured to establish, that Juries are not judges of the law as well as of the fact, and to exclude from the Jury-box men who would not bind themselves to accept his interpretation of the law.

But it is vain to attempt to go into the detail which a due consideration of Judge SPRAGUE's conduct would demand, within our present limits. The explanation of it all, as we conceive, exposes the weak point of our National Judiciary. Our National Judges are, almost of necessity, political Judges. They are appointed as the reward of partizan services, and it is by no means understood that the Bench is any impediment to political promotion. On the contrary, it may be made the vantage ground from which Ambition may vault or climb to the higher places. It is not so in England. There a Judge is removed, by Public Sentiment and the acknowledged properties of his position, from the temptations of political life. And eminence at the bar is required, by the profession and by the public, as a condition of elevation to the Bench. How many of the U. S. Judges owe their elevation to their successes of the stump rather than of the forum! The claims of Judge SPRAGUE to his preferment are certainly sufficient. Besides his respectable rank at the bar, he was one of those devoted men who assisted at the grand service held in Faneuil Hall in 1835, for the propitiation of Slavery, and the one who apostophized WASHINGTON as "THAT SLAVEHOLDER!" Unhappy man, who condensed his iniquity into an epigram! who reduced it into a shape the most portable and the most easily turned against him! This act and the spirit which inspired it was probably the remote reason why Judge SPRAGUE is on the Bench. But the immediate occasion of his promotion was his active agency in the Convention that nominated General HARRISON, and in the campaign that carried it out. Such are some of the rewards of patriotism! Republics are not always ungrateful!

In November, the trial of ROBERT MORRIS, Esq., one of the few coloured men who have been admitted to practice at the Bar, came on and resulted in a triumphant acquittal. In this case, as in the two previous ones, no man was permitted to sit on the Jury who had an ill opinion of the Fugitive Law, or who would not consent to yield his birth-right to judge of the sufficiency of the law, as well as of the facts, into the hands of the Judge. And yet this was the result. It showed that even men who are willing thus to denude themselves of their most sacred privilege will not consent to yield the lesser one and convict a man whom they do not think to be guilty, merely to gratify Mr. WEBSTER, Mr. FILLMORE and the Unionsavers in general. It is but due, however, to Mr. Justice CURTIS, who presided at the trial, to say, that, setting aside his jury-catechising, had the advice and counsel, secretly, of some of the most eminent Whig counsellors, who were well content to assist at the beneficent work provided their left hand knew not what their right hand did.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the evidence that was produced to prove that SIMS belonged not to himself, but to one JAMES POTTER, of Georgia. It was enough to satisfy the Commissioner, and that was all that was necessary to seal the fate of poor SIMS. The Constitutionality of the Fugitive Law was argued with great ability by Messrs. LORING and RANTOUL; but, of course, ruled to be sufficient by the Commissioner. Two attempts were made to bring the case by Habeas Corpus before the Supreme Court. The first was peremptorily and somewhat crustily refused on the ground that the State Courts had no jurisdiction in the premises. Did those learned judges mean to affirm that no law can be passed by Congress of the constitutionality of which they will take notice? Their predecessors had no difficulty in construing the Constitution according to their views of its true intent, when President Madison undertook to order the militia of Massachusetts to march out of the State during the war of 1812. Suppose Congress should pass a law inflicting fine and imprisonment on all persons denying the doctrine of the Trinity, and all the Unitarian ministers in Boston should be arrested under it, would the Supreme Court refuse them their Habeas Corpus? And yet many jurists, some not less eminent than the Massachusetts judges regard the law under which SIMS is restrained of his liberty to be as grossly unconstitutional and void of legal obligation, as the case supposed, or any other supposable one. With all due deference to the Bench, they beg the entire question when they assume an act of Congress operating upon a person within the peace of Massachusetts, to be constitutional. That is the very question to settle which the Writ is asked; but "*inter arma leges silent*," as also "*voluntas principis lex est.*" When a Court of Justice sits in fetters, surrounded by an armed body of men not amenable to it, and especially when the thing asked is plainly contrary to the will of the Prince of the land, the ancient and prescriptive safeguards of personal liberty must of course give way.

Subsequently, however, the Supreme Judges thought better of their action, and determined to hear cause shown for the granting of the writ. Accordingly, on Monday, the 7th, Messrs. R. H. DANA, Jr., and RANTOUL, argued the point with great ability. Mr. RANTOUL's argument was admitted, on all hands, to have been an effort of the very highest order. It was of no avail, however, for the application was unanimously refused.

Another attempt was made to rescue SIMS from the imminent peril in which he stood, by procuring a process against him for his assault on officer BUTMAN, at the time of his arrest. This movement was anticipated by the United States Marshal, (CHARLES DEVENS,) who obtained a warrant from a United States Commissioner against him for this act, with the design of frustrating any attempt to obtain State process, without any intention of actually enforcing it. On Thursday morning an attempt was made to baffle this scheme, by an application to Judge SPRAGUE for a Habeas Corpus, on the ground that the Marshal refused to bring SIMS before a Commissioner for trial, while he held a warrant against him. It need scarcely be said that the application was refused. The same evening the same application was made to Mr. Justice WOODBURY and was granted, on the ground that it was a Writ of Common Right. The hearing was had on Friday afternoon, the 11th, and the application was supported by the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER and Mr. SEWALL, and resisted, on behalf of the Marshal, by Mr. BENJAMIN R. CURTIS, since rewarded for this and other meritorious acts, to be successor to Judge WOODBURY, and finally refused, chiefly on technical grounds.

Before this decision of Judge WOODBURY, the fate of poor SIMS was sealed. On the morning of that same day, Commisioner CURTIS pronounced his opinion overruling the objections to the Constitutionality of the law, and particularly to those raised as to his own competency, as a Commissioner, to exercise judicial functions, and declaring the claim to SIMS sufficiently made out. He therefore signed the Certificate which doomed that unhappy wretch to be consigned again to the tender mercies of a master, of whose vindictiveness he had already had but too true a foretaste, in these proceedings for his recapture. During the whole of this transaction, the greatest apprehensions seemed to be entertained of a forcible rescue. By request of Mayor BIGELOW, companies of the Boston Brigade (thence appropriately styled the "*Sims Brigade*") were detailed every night to prevent such an outbreak. And, of all places in the world, Faneuil Hall was selected for the bivouack of these shop-boys turned Slavecatchers! The manner in which SIMS was to be taken back, too, was kept a profound mystery, and various contradictory reports were spread for the purpose of distracting any plans which might have been entertained for a forcible rescue. It is believed that the wish of the owner of SIMS was that he should be carried in triumph through the Free States, as a proof that the Fugitive Slave Bill could be executed in New England. If this were so, the United States and City Marshals, and the other miscreants engaged in this dirty business, did not think such a course expedient. About five o'clock on Saturday morning, the victim of Republican Slavery was taken from his cell in the part of the Court House occupied by the United States, and marched in the most direct line possible to the Long Wharf, where the Acorn, a vessel fitly owned by JOHN H. PEARSON, of kidnapping memory, was moored. For an hour and a half earlier the body of Boston Slavecatchers were under drill. SIMS was brought out by a guard detailed for the purpose, headed by Marshal TUKEY, and placed in a hollow square of some three hundred policemen, armed with hangers furnished by the United States. Mayor Bigelow formed a part of the escort. The SIMS Brigade were under arms at Faneuil Hall, in readiness against any hostile demonstration, and, it was said, were loudly indignant at the work being done without their active assistance. But as it was, they had to slink behind their counters the next morning, robbed of the laurels of this campaign. Only a small number, chiefly of the Vigilance Committee, who had been watching for what was to come to pass, through the night, were present as spectators. The silence of the stealthy march was unbroken, excepting by occasional cries of "Shame" from the bystanders. Arrived at the vessel, SIMS was carried on board. Just as he reached the deck, a voice cried aloud, "Sims, preach Liberty to the Slaves!" upon which he was conveyed below, the steam tug immediately got up her steam, and the Acorn was hurried down the harbour. And thus ended, as far as her magistracy is concerned, the most disgraceful scene in the history of Boston.

During the progress of these infamous proceedings, there were not wanting acts and words of earnest protest against them. The Vigilance Committee were unwearied, night and day, in their consultations and their efforts. No possibility of delay or deliverance escaped them. The skill and devotion of his counsel we have recorded. On the day after the arrest, a public meeting was held on the Common, and addressed with great power by WENDELL PHILLIPS. It adjourned to the Tremont Temple, for an evening session, and was addressed by Rev. THEODORE PARKER, Mr. LIST, and others. No little of the wholesome agitation which prevailed the next week should be attributed to these timely meetings. On Tuesday, the 9th, a Convention, previously called, was held in the same place, of all persons opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law. The hall was crowded to its utmost limit, and multitudes had to go away empty. The Hon. HORACE MANN presided, and initiated the proceedings in an elaborate and eloquent speech. The Hon. Messrs. JOHN G. PALFREY, STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, ANSON BURLINGAME, JOHN C. PARK, RODNEY FRENCH, and HENRY WILSON, Messrs. C. M. ELLIS, REMOND, HIGGINSON, and others, addressed the meeting with great effect. The resolutions, though not above Anti-Slavery criticism, inasmuch as they admitted, by implication, that a man might be "changed from a freeman into a Slave," by the "verdict of his peers," and by "due process of law," were, nevertheless, significantly emphatic, proceeding from the quarter they did. The two last resolutions could not have been bettered:

"*Resolved*, That it is impossible to aid by word or deed, in remanding a Fugitive Slave to bondage, without aiding to rob him of an inalienable right, without participating in the act of holding him in Slavery, and thus, without sinning against Christian light and against God.

"*Resolved*, That the Act of Congress providing for the recapture and return of persons claimed as Fugitive Slaves ought to be immediately and forever repealed."

In the evening a distinct meeting was held in the same place, which was very numerously attended, and addressed by Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. W. H. CHANNING, and several other gentlemen. On Friday, also, the day on which it was understood the decision of the Commissioner would be given, there was a numerously attended meeting in the Temple, and on the fatal Saturday one was held in Washingtonian Hall, which was crowded, and addressed by Messrs. GARRISON, PHILLIPS, QUINCY, and many others. On that day the bells of the churches in Lynn, Waltham, Newton, Plymouth, and other places, were tolled, as a mourning memorial of the glory that had departed from Massachusetts. Public meetings were held in Lynn, Chelsea, and in many other places, in which the atrocities we have but imperfectly sketched and their perpetrators were denounced as they deserved.

The Legislature being in session at this time, the subject was brought before the Senate by a petition of SIMS, setting forth the circumstances of his case, the denial of his Habeas Corpus, &c., which was presented by Mr. KEYES, of Norfolk. This gave rise to an animated debate, but to no immediate result. On Wednesday, on motion of Mr. ROBINSON, of Essex, the following orders were passed:

"*Ordered*, That Messrs. ROBINSON, Wood of Plymouth, KUHN, KEYES and GRISWOLD, be a Committee to inquire whether the freedom of any of the inhabitants of this Commonwealth is endangered, through the remissness of any officers thereof, or if any officer has refused or neglected to serve any process for the arrest of any person charged as a criminal, with power to send for persons and papers.

"*Ordered*, That the same Committee inqulre if any law for the security of personal liberty has recently been violated by officers of the city of Boston, or by officers of the Commonwealth, pretending to act under the orders of the officers of said city, with power to send for persons and papers."

In pursuance of these orders, the Committee held numerous sessions and examined many witnesses, among whom were Commissioner CURTIS, Mayor BIGELOW, Marshal TUKEY, Sheriff EVELETH, BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, &c. Nothwithstanding the prevarications, evasions and insolence of some of these witnesses, a large amount of facts was elicited, the substance of which was embodied in a very clear and well written Report, setting forth the manner in which the laws of the State had been violated by the Sheriff, his Deputy, the Mayor, City Marshal and his underlings, and concluding with the following draughts of laws, which, we regret to say, failed of an enactment:

"*Bill to Punish Disobedience of the Laws by Public Officers.*

"The prohibition of the 24 section of the Act further to protect Personal Liberty, passed March 24, 1843, shall be extended to all

*"An Act Concerning Calling Out the Militia.*

"During any session of the Legislature, or Executive Council, or whenever the Governor is in the city, the power of the Mayor of said city to call out the Militia is suspended, and vested in the Commander-in-Chief."

The transactions could not fail to excite an intense interest, all over the country. At the North, the servile presses, which rejoice in being the echoes of the Slavedrivers, exulted over them, while the better sort of all parties condemned their form, if not their substance. At the South, the Union Whig papers, which were desirous of making out as good a case as they could in favour of their Northern allies, were content to accept this action as a satisfactory fulfilment of the Law. But the more impartial among the Slavery Journals scouted the idea that the return of a Slave by military force and unusual methods, at a cost many times exceeding his value, was in any proper sense a satisfaction of the spirit of the Statute. The whole country rung with the discussion to which this outrage gave rise, and it cannot be but that many must have had their thoughts directed to this matter as they had never before been. The emphatic rebuke of England, too, came to our ears as soon as it could sweep over the Atlantic, and should have made them tingle, had there been any natural sensibility left in them. Deeply as we regret the fate of the miserable SIMS, we cannot but believe that his hard case has been the means of sowing good seed in many hearts. Though his demoniacal master has refused to take twice his value, in order that he might wreak his vengeance upon him (although he is endorsed as a pious man by the religious press!), we think his example will be felt among his fellow-Slaves. At the last accounts we had of him, after the usual flogging, he was still kept in jail, until he would consent to falsify his conscience by expressing sorrow for his honourable act of escape. We have already heard of HENRY LONG as a maker of mischief among Slaves. We cannot but hope that this conduct of SIMS will spread the knowledge of useful truths among his fellows. May every reclaimed Fugitive be an Apostle of Liberty, teaching his companions in misery that there is a land where no Slave can breathe, pointing out the constellation which rains down the sweet influences of Freedom, and showing that those doctrines of equal rights with which the air is ringing, are as much the birthright of the black man as of the white. In this manner the Fugitive Slave Law may be the means of sending labourers into a vineyard that their masters wot not of, and of hastening a vintage that they look not for.

THE FREE GOSPEL.—Of all Slave States, North Carolina seems, more than any other, to dread the influence of religious teachers. Nowhere, at the South, are Anti-Slavery preachers tolerated, but in that State it seems not only necessary that the clergyman must be above any suspicion of holding opinions adverse to the cherished institution, but he must be positively and unequivocally its advocate before he is considered fit to preach the Gospel. The Quakers hitherto have been considered a harmless enough sect, so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, the lives of the present generation being held to be a sufficient set-off to their hereditary testimony against the wrong of oppression toward the African race. But the North Carolinian people do not think so. We may conclude from an incident which recently occurred there, and related by a correspondent of the *True Wesleyan*, writing from Guilford Co., North Carolina, that Friends must amend their Discipline, or decline to give Minutes to those who have a concern to visit that State. The writer in the *True Wesleyan* gives these facts on the authority of a person who was present at the meeting referred to:

A travelling Friend (Quaker), Thomas Wells, an Englishman by birth, but had been in the United States several years, and had travelled pretty extensively through the Northern and Northwestern States, and recently had visited this part of North Carolina. Friend Wells had received an invitation by a citizen of Greensborough, in Guilford Co., to visit that place, and feeling an impression that he ought to do so, accepted the invitation, and hence, a meeting was announced for him, on the evening of the 20th January, which he attended, and spoke much to the satisfaction and edification of his congregation, at the E. Methodist Church. After meeting, a cordial invitation was extended to him to call and preach there again. I would further state, that the stationed preacher, Mr. Jameison, had presented the matter before the official members of the church, and obtained their assent. A second meeting was accordingly appointed for the next Sabbath, 25th of January. The congregation having assembled, Friend Wells had commenced speaking, when Wilson S. Hill, one of the Governor's Council, and member of the E. Methodist Church, and who took a very active part in the Wesleyan persecution last Summer, came into the house, and walked up near the desk, and addressing himself to the speaker said, that he was authorized by those outside to tell him that he must not preach there. Consequently Friend Wells stopped speaking, but remained standing quietly at the desk, thinking the matter would pass off, and an opportunity be given to resume his discourse. But instead of quiet being restored, the excitement and confusion increased, until it came to blows.

A black man belonging to Dr. Mebane, was badly hurt, so much so that he was for some days confined to his bed. What the offence given by the black man was, or whether any, I have not been fully able to ascertain; but he is said to be a peaceable man. The meeting, however, was broken up in great confusion; what the result may ultimately be, God only knows, but it is said that the excitement and dissatisfaction in the town appears to be very considerable. When will the people learn wisdom?

THE FUGITIVES IN CANADA.—Mr. S. R. Ward, the coloured clergyman, who is now a refugee in Canada to escape a prosecution in the Syracuse Rescue Case, has been making a sort of missionary tour there among the coloured people. Of their condition he says, in a letter to *The Voice of the Fugitive*, that "instead of our people being such a pack of paupers as some represent them, they are generally in comfortable circumstances, many of them much better off than a like number of Europeans. Those who are immediately from Slavery come destitute, of course, as a general thing, but those who have resided any time in the province, are generally free from destitution; and where they are otherwise, it is generally owing to their indolence, intemperance, or something of that sort. I see in *Douglass' Paper* a letter from Br. Loguen, giving a most deplorable account of the condition of our people in St. Catherines. But I am informed by a Mr. Duncan, residing in that place, that fugitives are promptly relieved upon their arrival at that place, and that a considerable number of the older residents are owners of real estate. As to the state of things in Toronto and in Hamilton, I can say, from actual observation, that extreme suffering is scarcely known among the black people, while some who are far from being as industrious and deserving as they ought to be, receive aid to which they would hardly seem to be entitled."

ANTI-SLAVERY AND POLITICS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.—An esteemed correspondent, in a private letter from Bradford, N. H., says in relation to the prospects of the coming election in that State:

"New Hampshire seems to be stirred up at this time from centre to circumference in reference to the coming annual election, March 9th. The Old Hunker Democracy have taken upon their shoulders the Compromise measures, so called, including the Fugitive Slave Act, and I think they will find themselves in a minority by thousands at the coming election, although they resort to all sorts of means to obtain votes. Bribery has already been attempted in this neighbourhood, of which we have the proof. We have some reason to believe that the Old Hunkers at Washington are sending on money to the sub-pro-slavery Hunkers here, to be employed in vile electioneering; but this money influence, I think, will be counteracted by exposure and suitable preaching. The Anti-Slavery Whigs and Free Soil Democrats, I trust, are roused up to efficient action. They act in some sort separately, but their views and operations look to similar results. I hope you will be enabled to hail the result of the coming election here as an indication of progress in the Anti-Slavery cause."

THE LORD'S PRAYER.—Mr. Frank, the agent of the publication, has left at our office the Lord's Prayer, issued in an altogether new, and, as it will probably prove, attractive manner. Each separate petition in the Prayer is fully illustrated by an emblematic engraving of its subject, and the Prayer itself is printed in various type, so that the whole occupies a large sheet well calculated to attract the eye of the spectator. Its object we presume to be to make more popular and to impress upon the mind, by pictorial representation, the beauty and power of the simplest, most comprehensive, and most sublime prayer that was ever offered. It will be well if that object shall be gained.

☞ WE have received the Report of the Annual Meeting of the Old Saratoga District Anti-Slavery Society, but too late for publication this week. It shall appear next.

☞ THE *Voice of the Fugitive*, published at Sandwich, Canada West, asks that Anti-Slavery papers in the States will publish the following notice:

We have lost our New England Subscription-book, and cannot supply our subscribers in that section of the country in consequence of it. Will our patrons in the New England States be so good as to renew their post office address for the *Voice of the Fugitive*, and forward to Detroit, Michigan? By addressing us there, we will get the letters, almost as soon as if directed to Canada, and we shall save 7 cents postage by it if prepaid. We suppose that some scamp has stolen the book from this office, with intent to make a breach in our cause that we could not repair; but, if we are not very much mistaken, our New England Anti-Slavery friends will not forsake us on that account.

ESCAPED.—An attempt was made in this city, one day last week, to capture a man, but was happily unsuccessful. The miscreant who was hunting for him, made due application to the United States authorities, and received a brace or two of two-legged hounds to aid him in running down his game. The wanderer, however, had taken the precaution to remove himself beyond their reach.

REV. CALVIN FAIRBANK.—This man, the particulars of whose arrest, and the charge on which it was grounded, we gave some time since, has been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to an imprisonment of fifteen years. As the intelligence came by Telegraph, we have no details of the trial. The Kentucky authorities meant to secure the slaveholders of the State from any further molestation from him.

WE regret to hear that the Unitarian Church at Syracuse—Rev. Samuel J. May's—was burnt down in a gale on Sunday morning last. The damage is estimated at about $6,000.

HON. ROBERT RANTOUL, JR., will accept our thanks for a copy of his speech, delivered on the 18th ultimo, in the United States House of Representatives, on the Interests of the Old States in Western Avenues of Intercourse.

## Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. XCVIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent upbraideth the Weather—He adviseth Sir John Franklin and giveth his opinion as to N. W. and other passages—Pursuit of Stated Preaching under Difficulties—The Rising Generation and the Ways—The Correspondent giveth his experiences—His Genuflexions—He quoteth Messrs. Joseph Addison, Theodore Hook and William Shakspeare—He speaketh well of the Bridge—He passes to the perils of Gotham—He lamenteth her danger of being made Sober against her will—He compareth Metropolitan Hall and Castle Garden—He repudiateth possible imputations on the loyalty to law of the Union Safety Committee—He headeth and toileth the same—He bewaileth our own deficiency—And suggesteth the Remedy—And rebuketh Mr. Wendell Phillips—And justifieth Boston from Suspicion—The Maine Law in Massachusetts—The Amendments—Their Philosophy—The lay of the Game—The Correspondent indorseth the moral and religious character of the Whigs—He bewaileth the good old times—He vindicateth the Scriptural character of punch—He lamenteth the later persecutions—But comforteth the Editor—He maketh a transition to the Coalition—Dr. Johnson and himself—He exposeth and rebuketh its ingratitude—Sigma and the State Printing—An expensive ally—Whig souls endangered—Concluding Reproof, &c., &c., &.*

BOSTON, March 1, 1852.

THIS is the beginning of Spring, is it? A most *leonine* coming in, truly! Yesterday and the day before were days of as wintry an aspect and behaviour as the most patriotic Esquimaux could desire. Sir John Frank lin need not have gone so far in search of ice and snow. And as to the North West Passage, or, indeed, a passage in any direction, he could not have found it more difficult to find one than we did, yesterday. Those of us who have been brought up in regular habits of going to church, like myself, found great difficulty in keeping the chain of customs unbroken—or, at least, with unbroken bones. The ways, even to church, were not ways of pleasantness, nor were the paths those of peace, unless a "piece of ice" may be accepted as satisfactory of the Scripture. The Rising Generation, to be sure, had been busy in making our way plain, and in making smooth the rough places before our faces—the consequence of which was that we were very apt to find ourselves upon them. I myself,

"Whilst in the slippery paths of Youth,
With heedless steps I ran,"

was no less than twice brought upon my knees, an attitude which, Theodore Hook tells us (*apropos* to the decay of gallantry in these times), is as damaging to the reputation of a man as of a horse. And though I thus "crooked the pregnant hinges of the knee," no Thrift has followed it; quite the contrary, indeed, inasmuch as I made a compound fracture of two of the bones (whalebones) of my very best silk umbrella. But, however, I will not speak ill of the bridge that has carried me safe over so much of the abyss of blank paper before me. The weather, at any rate, has furnished forth one paragraph towards the completion of what seemed, when I sat down, the hopeless task of my fortnightly epistle.

And so I see you are in great tribulation in Gotham at the prospect of having your grog stopped. And no wonder, judging from the glimpses I have had at the drinking habits of your fellow-citizens, during the brief visits I have paid to them. I should suppose that, were it possible to bring all the liquor in the city to an untimely end, all at once, you would be like five hundred thousand mice under an exhausted Receiver. It would be taking away the very breath of your nostrils, and you wouldn't know what to make of it. And I suppose, from the stir that is making, from the frantic Call for the Meeting in Metropolitan Hall, and from the enthusiastic speeches and action of the Meeting itself, that you really think yourselves in some danger. I think it hath a smack of even more earnest apprehension than the Call for the Castle Garden Meeting, or than even the Speeches made thereat. Is it possible that you feel more uneasiness at the prospect of the injury fanatical legislation at Albany may do to your own particular Constitutions, than you did for the danger which threatened the glorious Constitution of your Common Country? To be sure, should the Law pass, there is the Hundred Slavecatchers, with Mr. George Wood at their head, and Mr. Hiram Catch 'em at their tail, all ready organized to carry the Law into effect. "It is easy to do an agreeable duty," such as catching niggers, as Mr. Webster saith; we cannot doubt that they will be equally prompt to do "a disagreeable one," like catching rumsellers. In this particular, you have the advantage of us here. We have no such embodied incarnation of the determination to execute "law, while it is law," unless, indeed, Marshal Tukey will furnish the names of "the fifteen hundred scoundrels," as Wendell Phillips irreverently styled those saviours of our country, who volunteered to help him send Sims back to Georgia. But of the execution of the law, here and there, should it become a law, is beyond a peradventure. Would those law-abiding citizens risk the liberties of their country by the Rescue of some Rumselling Shadrach? Would they act over again the horrors of Christiana and Syracuse! Questions not to be asked!

Our Legislative furnace is now in full blast on the Maine Law, too. In what shape it will come out from such a forge and such a heat remains to be seen. There are not many who come out openly against the Bill itself. The great game is to amend it in such a way as to make it useless, or to give those voting for the amendments an excuse to vote against the whole bill if they prevail. The present point of dispute is on an amendment referring the Law to a vote of the people, on the day after the Law is to become operative. It is proposed that the question of suspending the operation of the law for a twelvemonth be submitted to a popular vote, yea and nay, on the 2d day of next May. This was brought forward by a friend of the Bill, and is supported by some of its friends and opposed by others. Its object, as it lies in the minds of its Temperance friends, is to obtain such a direct sanction from the Sovereign People as to put their authoritative decision beyond a doubt. Others of the friends of the Bill think this process quite superfluous, of an evil precedent, and the more unnecessary as its passage has been asked for by 75,000 legal voters, a good half of those that ever go to the polls. But then this amendment is seized upon by some pretended friends of the Bill and opposed as unconstitutional, Anti-Republican, undemocratic, and everything that is bad. So that, if the amendment should pass, they can have the opportunity of voting against the whole Bill, because of the Amendment! How it will go is quite uncertain yet. No influence will be spared by the Liquor Interest of Boston to defeat it. And this, joined to those who may honestly dislike the method, and those who care nothing about it and look only to the effect their action will have on the next Election, may suffice to defeat it. The game of the Whigs is to defeat the Bill in some way, and then go to the people at the next Election on this ground, in the expectation that enough Rum Democrats will join them to elect their candidates. A scheme well worthy of those eminent, long-faced, orthodox, psalm-singing, nigger-catching Saints.

You and I are not "the oldest inhabitants" yet by a long shot, but we are old enough to have seen great changes in this matter of drinking. What would anybody have said thirty years ago if it had been prophesied unto them that a Law would be proposed, even, absolutely prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks! It would have seemed as absurd as a prophecy that Slavery will be abolished in thirty years from this time would appear now to Dr. Spring or Dr. Dewey. Ah, those were jolly times! When it was thought no harm for any and every man at eleven o'clock to go to the Bunch of Grapes in State Street and take his comfortable glass of punch, without detriment to the credit of his indorsement; when even the Reverend clergy did not disdain to refresh the cockles of their hearts with the same nectarean compound, which, it is well known on the authority of Fielding's Ordinary of Newgate, like Slavery in our times, "is nowhere spoken against in Scripture;" when a gentleman might take his sober bottle with his dinner, when by himself, and his moderate three bottles when with a friend, and nobody thought the worse of him for it! when a man might be carried home drunk, once a month or so, provided he became so in good company, without damaging his moral or religious character. Alas, for the Eleven O'clocks, and the Four O'clocks, and the Night-caps! They are gone, and their memory alone remains to console survivors and instruct posterity. Not that I mean to say that these blessings are absolutely extinct, but they exist under a cloud of persecution. Like the Early Christians, their disciples have to lurk in holes and corners, and perform their services unseen of men. And now a perfect Diocletian persecution impends over them. They are threatened with utter extermination. But, still, be consoled. There will yet be a remnant left. Rum will yet have its confessors, and it will be more than Mayor Dow can do to keep a zealous martyr from the fires he covets.

You know how tenderly disposed I have ever been towards the Coalition in this State. For an Ishmaelite by profession, I think I have always shown them great consideration. For you know that, like Dr. Johnson, I *do* hate a Whig, and that whoever goes in and helps *lick* the Whigs has a claim on my sympathy. But I grieve to have to tell you that the Coalition has been guilty of gross ingratitude to one of their very best friends—perhaps the identical man to whom they owe the loaves and fishes which they have such pleasure in distributing among themselves. I allude to their treatment of the venerable and venerated Sigma, in the persons of his printers, Messrs. Dalton and Wentworth. This firm, you must know, had the State printing, as well as that of the Boston *Transcript*. And, as this job is one of the best in the gift of the Legislature here as well as elsewhere, it was a temptation to the Coalitionists, which they could not keep their hands off of. So they gave it to Messrs. White and Potter; and what do you think was one main reason they gave for it? Why, forsooth, that the former contractors were proprietors of the *Transcript*, through which the admirable Sigma had exposed the Coalition, in its parts and in its entirety, with that energy and elegance of phrase for which he is so eminent! And this after he had made the fortunes of the Coalition by his apposite quotation from Montesquieu, to the effect that balloting should be open to the end that the common people might be kept in order by the presence of "persons of eminent gravity." Had it been the Whigs that had thus punished the publishers of the *Transcript*, there would have been reason in it; for they put their immortal souls in deadly peril by the way in which they d——d Sigma and all his generation. And I believe he has been choked off from his hold on the *Transcript* in consequence of it. But for the Coalition to do it! It was too bad, altogether.—D. Y.

## LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

DEAR FRIEND GAY: While in Herkimer County, a few weeks ago, I intended to have written you a few thoughts on the practice of using Tobacco. It seems to me the habit has risen to such a height as to demand Anti-Slavery interference, and such as to take it out of the catalogue of "Extraneous Topics," if indeed it was ever classed with them.

I have seen tobacco eaten by haystacks in quantity, before, and smoked by cords; but it seems to me some portions of New York go into the business with a greediness to which I have hitherto been a stranger. Some men have libelled the whole brute creation, by calling the habit a "*beastly*" one. No beast but man could or would pursue it to such inordinate excess.

For a year or two, at one time, I was a Minister, and had, for a young man, considerable experience in "Revivals." We used to have what are called Enquiry Meetings, in which we would hold a few words of private conversation with the persons present—really, as some of the old ministers made it, a sort of "Auricular Confession." As what was asked and answered, was not to be heard by any but the two persons, *the Enquirer and the Enquired of*, my face was often, and indeed always, brought in very close contact with that of the one interrogated.

Now, could you see what I have seen, when some old veteran in the practice opened his mouth to reveal to me the state of his heart and mind, you would conclude at once, as I did, that the work of purification should begin nearer the surface. There was uncleanness to remove, which whole prairies of bullocks and pastures of he-goats could hardly run blood enough to take away. The waters of Avernus were pure as Castilian fountains compared with the submersion which I have seen in many a mouth. The billows would be surging up against a shore of snagged teeth on either side. In the distance, a huge quid lifted a hemisphere of itself above the surface, like a floating island. But through this fearful channel you must make your way with the messages of salvation, which were to reach down into the dark recesses of the heart. And then the *head wind* of a Sérocco breath, which would almost turn the stomach of a crocodile, would be beating constantly upon you, inducing a sea-sickness unknown in any and all ordinary navigation, until you would be ready to abandon your commission in deep despair.

This is not exaggeration. I have seen more and worse than can be described. And no minister with whom I was ever associated in a Revival alluded to the abomination; but they have rebuked me sharply for doing it, and said we must work upon the heart, and get that cleansed, then all these outward "filthinesses of the flesh" would be clean also. But the church and pulpit both are full of those whose mouths remain as I have described. Is it not easy to judge of what lies beyond by what we see?

I used to paint the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, with what of terror was at my command; but some of these Lakes of Acheron we used to discover at Enquiry Meetings were scarcely less fearful. I used to exhort sinners to look down into their hearts, and see what deep wells of pollution were stagnating there, to poison and destroy the health and life of the soul. But there was no need of looking so deep as that, in a hundred cases, to find the very fountains of certain destruction. No pool, slimy and foul as its waters were, with the drawlings of its bloated newts and frogs, steamed up more of the fetid death than did these loathsome friths of distilled filth and exudations of tobacco.

But it was of Herkimer and of New York that I proposed to speak. Pardon me now, and, with your leave, I will write again. This article is already longer than I intended to make it.

Yours and your readers',
PARKER PILLSBURY.

*Albany*, 26th February, 1852.

P. S. I lost on the 4 gold pen and pencil in Herkimer County (the gift of a most valued friend), one that has served me well some three years and more, and was still as good as new. If any one where I staid has found it and will send it to me (care of R. F. Wallcut, Boston, 21 Cornhill), he shall have my thanks and its services, as long as it or its owner lasts, or their services are needed.

## XXXIId CONGRESS.....First Session.

SENATE.....WASHINGTON, Feb 27, 1852.

THE Senate met at the usual hour.

PERSONAL.

Mr. GWIN, of California, moved for the postponement of the private Calender for one hour, to enable Mr. Rhett to make his reply to Messrs. Clemens and Cass.

Mr. RHETT (S. C.) said that the reason why he had not replied to the animadversions contained in the speech of the Senator of Alabama (Mr. Clemens) delivered on the 3d December last, was, that he was not in the city at the time, and did not know of it till shortly before leaving home on his return to the capitol. For the last fortnight he had been waiting for the Compromise Resolutions to be taken up. He had hoped that, when the Resolutions with reference to Senator Foote was over, all personal conflicts on the floor of the Senate were at an end. During his legislative career of twenty years, he had never so demeaned himself as to be involved in any personal controversy. He now felt annoyed that here, almost upon crossing the threshold of the Senate, he was to be denounced and arraigned because of his conscientious and consistent support of principle. He must now defend himself and his position from the charges brought against him. The Senator from Alabama in his speech uses the following language:

"The scene we witnessed the other day, during the delivery, by Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Rhett), of his harangue, surprised no one here, but it would have been a matter of profound astonishment to the country if they could have been spectators of what occurred. There was the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase), and the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Hale), gathered about him, in a sort of paternal ring, while the countenance of the Senator from New York (Mr. Seward), was radiant with gladness. Thus was exhibited the spectacle of an extreme Southern Senator denouncing, in no measured terms, the Government of his country, and declaring himself a disunionist, on account of the alleged wrongs heaped upon him, with four as rabid Abolitionists as this land contains drinking in his words with eager approbation—applauding, cheering and encouraging him. And all this was nothing new to us, however strange it may appear to the plain and honest yeomanry of the country; nor was it, when calmly considered, at all unnatural. A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind. There is a sympathy in treason as well as in knavery, and those who are earnestly striving to accomplish the same end need not quarrel about the separate means employed."

Here the Senator charged me with treason and knavery, and that a sympathy in treason and knavery exists between me and the four Senators upon this floor who have been named. How will this charge be met? I will discredit the witness upon whose testimony the allegation is founded. Did any one here, on that occasion, hear either of these Senators applaud or cheer? Did the Senator from Massachusetts applaud? Will the Hon. Senator say if he applauded or cheered on that occasion?

Mr. SUMNER said that he occupied his own seat, when the Hon Senator from South Carolina made his speech, that he listened to him attentively, but as a lover of the Union he could not applaud either in feeling or expression many of the sentiments of the Senator, on the contrary, he heard much that he strongly dissented from.

Mr. RHETT asked Mr. Chase to say whether he had applauded or cheered.

Mr. CHASE said he listened to the Senator with great attention. He could not believe that he had violated any rules by applauding, or cheering; so far as the Hon. Senator had expressed the State right doctrines of Jefferson and Madison, his speech met his hearty approval, but that part which denounced the Union, he did not approve, applaud, cheer or encourage.

Mr. RHETT said he would call no more; every Senator present knew the truth of the matter; they all knew that no one had either applauded or cheered him on that occasion, notwithstanding which, the Senator from Alabama had declared in his speech that those Senators had done both; there was but little affinity between him and those honourable Senators. The Senators from New York, Ohio, New Hampshire and Massachusetts had all been heard in loud, long and repeated praise of this Union. He united in no such songs, though the honourable Senator from Alabama did. He now proceeded to show that the Senator from Alabama (Mr. Clemens) did not himself stand in such a position as to arraign any man for inconsistency or dishonour. He then read to the Senate several pages of matters which he said he intended to prove against Mr. Clemens. When about half way through, he said he had left one sheet at home, but would print it with his speech.

Mr. CLEMENS insisted on its being read now; he would reply to the speech of the honourable Senator at once, and not wait till it was published.

Mr. RHETT said he would go and get it, and amid much laughter left for his hotel. After a short interval he returned with the missing paper, which he read. He then read from the speech of Mr. Clemens, delivered on the 27th December, 1849, on certain resolutions introduced by himself, calling for information, as to whether the President had sent any agent to California, to induce the people to organize a State Government, and in which he denounced that State government as having been organized for the purpose of wronging the South. He also read from a speech delivered by Mr. Clemens on the 10th January, 1850, on the subject of printing the Vermont resolutions, in which he spoke of two classes of traitors—one, the Northern fanatics, who totally disregarded the Constitution; and the other class—less to be respected—the timid, hesitating, Southern men, who would not march up to the line, and meet the North upon the threshold, and there bid her stand; in other words, who would not resist California's admission by fighting?

Mr. RHETT also read from a speech delivered by Mr. Clemens on the 11th of February, 1850, in which he scorned with contempt the allegation that he was a Disunionist. Also from the speech of the 20th Feb., in which he declared Mr. Clay's Compromise resolutions gave the North all and took all from the South; and sooner than submit to such a settlement advocates disunion and secession by the South, and claims that Washington, if living, would do the same. That on the 8th of May, Mr. Clemens attacked the report of the Committee of Thirteen, who reported on the Compromise, declaring it was nothing but Mr. Clay's plan. That on the 16th of May he arraigns Messrs. Foote and Mangum for supporting the Compromise measures, denouncing them as traitors to the South in supporting what was a shameless outrage, rebukes "the best we can get" doctrine, and says that those who would submit to such a degrading doctrine were too infamous to live. On the 13th of August he protested against the admission of California—declares all the States sovereign; denounces those who betray the South as traitors; affirms that he owes no allegiance to any power but Alabama, and if to defend what Alabama directed was treason, then he was a traitor, and gloried in the name. Such, said Mr. Rhett, was Senator Clemens in the year 1850. In 1851 he was a different man. The speeches of 1851 were then read. Senator Clemens of '51 was a different man from Senator Clemens of '50. In '50 he declared that those who submitted to the Compromise were traitors, and in 1851 he was one himself. Mr. Rhett then ran a parallel between Mr. Clemens' positions in his speeches of 1850 and those made since the passage of the Compromise measures, maintaining that all the positions denounced by Mr. C. in 1850 as base, infamous, traitorous or dishonourable, in relation to the Compromise, were now occupied, approved and sustained by that Senator. If these things appear (and who could doubt it, since he had shown them all by the Senator's own speeches), who could but say that Senator Clemens was a pretty specimen of a witness to stand up in the Senate and arraign any one for inconsistency, or calumniate any one by imputing dishonour and crime. In 1850 the Senator laid down a platform, upon which all true and honourable Southern men stood with honour and dignity; but now, he who laid down the platform denounces those who still remain firm upon it, and who are for resisting this Compromise, which the Senator himself declared a base, ignominious surrender to traitors and knaves. In a former speech he (Mr. Rhett) had maintained that States alone could be admitted constitutionally, and as California was not a State, her admission was clearly unconstitutional. This the Senator from Alabama had declared to be nonsense, for, with the exception of Texas, Vermont and Kentucky, all the States had come in as Territories—the act of admission constituting and recognising them as States. Such was the case in Alabama. To this he (Mr. Rhett) now replied, maintaining his original position, that never, till California, was any Territory admitted as a State. He declared the Senator from Alabama ignorant of the history of his own State. She was a State—a sovereign State—before her admission, and her sons would not thank the Senator for the degrading position in which he had placed her. He considered the Senator from Alabama as hard driven in supporting the admission of California, when he had no resource but to a false statement of the facts of her condition. The Senator from Alabama was so enamoured of the Compromise that he had declared he would not vote to repeal the act abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. That act did not alone provide for the abolition of the slave trade. It made, as penalty for its violation, that the slave should be free, thus setting the precedent that Congress had a power to provide for emancipation of slaves. How truly was the Hon. Senator now in the position of those whom he had denounced in 1850 as traitors to the South. He then referred to Mr. Clemens' argument that the Fugitive Slave Law had been as well executed as any other law, and commented on the proceedings at Christiana and Boston, the offenders at which places had all been allowed to go Scot free. He replied also to Mr. Clemens' argument against the right of secession, against any absolute sovereignty of States, and against the doctrine that treason could be committed against any power but the United States. Those positions he opposed, reading from speeches of Mr. Clemens and others, in refutation of them. He read also from the Constitutions of several States, showing that treason against States was defined and recognised.

South Carolina, he said, provided for treason, and any of her sons who would be traitorous to her or who would take up arms against her, would find that the hangman's rope was his destiny. It was well known by whom the Senator was elected. The Democratic party of Alabama, by an overwhelming majority, declared its preference for Mr. Fitzpatrick to the Senate. The Senator, with the aid of four Democrats and the Whigs defeated him, and was chosen to his present high position. How was it that the Whig party had supported him?

Mr. RHETT here read letters, written by several gentlemen from Alabama, by which it was stated that while the Whig members of the Legislature were in caucus, Mr. Clemens was nominated by some one. The Whigs refused to support him without some pledge, and during the evening a slip of paper was handed in which read, in substance, that "if elected Senator of the United States, I pledge myself to support the administration of General Taylor." Signed, J. Clemens.

A Mr. Davis pledged himself to the Caucus that this paper was in the hand-writing of Mr. Clemens, and the Caucus then agreed to support him, and he was elected. This was the man who calumniated others—who now stood up in the Senate and denounced him as a traitor, and false to his principles and to honour. He now considered that he had made good the statement that he would discredit the witness, and prove to the Senate and country that that witness was not entitled to credit when he denounced and calumniated others. He regretted the necessity for the explanation, and returned thanks to the Senate for an opportunity of vindicating himself.

MR. CLEMNS'S REPLY.

Mr. CLEMENS said that yesterday he had received a note, informing him that the Senator from South Carolina intended to reply, to-day, to his speech of December last. He was somewhat surprised to hear also that that Senator had advised the Senate gallerie reporters, letter-writers, and every one else, in order that a goodly number might be there to witness his death at the hands of the Hon. Senator. He regretted that the Senator had not given him an opportunity of dying decently. He could not understand the Senator's apparent ignorance upon all things connected with the passage of the Compromise. The Hon. Senator has at all times manifested such complete ignorance upon his (Mr. C.'s) course, that he must attribute to it, and to his blindness and self-conceit upon all matters relating to himself, that total misconstruction of the speech he had commented on. In that speech the Senator said that he was called a traitor and a knave. No other man who reads it would say he was called by it a knave, but the Senator will have it so; and now, if he believed that, this charge of knavery was in fact made against him, why has he waited for months to concoct and frame a speech upon it? Why has he brooded over it and let it remain unanswered till this time, and now only in this manner. He could not resist the necessity which now induced him to add the epithet of coward to those of knave and traitor.

The CHAIR call the Senator to order.

A VOICE—"Order."

SEVERAL VOICES—"He is not out of order, perfectly right."

Mr. CLEMENS said he would not speak out of order. No one who would allow the charge of knavery to remain unnoticed for two months, and who would take no other means to repel it than those resorted to by the Senator, deserved the name of man. The Senator claims to have discredited the witness. How? By the evidence of two of his co-conspirators. In Alabama the evidence of parties implicated would not be received. No one who read that speech would suppose that they had openly and loudly cheered and applauded the Senator. He meant no such thing. It was the attention, the evident satisfaction with which they had listened to the Senator. The Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Hale) had left his seat and come to the side of the Senator to hear him. When he had concluded, they congratulated him, and shook hands with him. Does he deny that?

[Mr. RHETT's response could not be heard by the Reporters.]

Mr. CLEMENS to Mr. CHASE—Do you deny that you shook hands with him?

Mr. CHASE said that he had, perhaps done the shaking-hands part; but he would thank the Senator from Alabama to state upon what authority he called him a conspirator with any one.

Mr. CLEMENS said that he would reply but to one at a time. The Senator from South Carolina could not deny that these congratulations and shaking of hands took place. There were plenty of witnesses who saw it. All knew the intimate relations between the Senator and those Senators. All knew that the Abolitionists had declared the Constitution a compact with hell, and yet, the Senator received their congratulations upon a speech against the Government of his own country? Who was discredited—he or the Senator? The Senator, during his controversy with ex-Senator Foote, had shown his adaptation for private conversations concerning others. It had come out during that discussion that the Senator had held a private conversation with Mr. Benton concerning Mr. Foote's course toward Mr. Calhoun.

Who in South Carolina would suppose that R. Barnwell Rhett had held consultations behind the pillars of the Senate Chamber upon the means of defending John C. Calhoun? Though the Senator was friendly here with Messrs. Sumner, Chase, and Seward; though he received their congratulations upon his speeches, yet at home he forgot his personal relations with them, and there denounced them as traitors to the Constitution. The Senator complained of being calumniated; it was beyond the power of man to calumniate the Senator. Did he not get up in the Senate and proclaim himself a traitor? How could calumny add to this avowal? He had never called the Senator a traitor till he had avowed himself one, and how could it be calumny to style a man as he styled himself? He never had much fancy for the Senator. He has declined the usual courtesy of acquaintance and introduction to the Senator. He had never made himself familiar with the small social relations of the Senator, and he had not attacked them—they were too small a game. He had read in one of the English poets a description of a darkness, in which vipers crawl among the multitude, hissing but stingless. He knew this applied to the Senator, for though he was continually hissing, all were aware he had no sting.

Mr. JONES (Tenn.) said the Senator could not get through to-day and suggested an adjournment till to-morrow.

Mr. CLEMENS said he would reply to one thing now and then would give way. That Senator had charged him with having made a corrupt bargain with Whig members of the Alabama Legislature for his seat in the Senate. Had the Senator waited but two days longer he never would have uttered that charge. No man in Alabama had ever dared in his presence to utter that charge. The Senator now retailed the slander and placed himself in the same if not worse position than the originator of the slander. He pronounced it false and was authorized by several of those who were in that Whig Caucus to declare in their names its facility. He would now say to the Senator who was the retailer of the slander what he would utter if in his presence, and he asked the Senator to mark well his words, that that charge was a foul lie, unmitigated and unredeemed by the slightest semblance of truth.

Without concluding, he gave the floor to Mr. Jones, on whose motion the Senate adjourned.

During the whole day the Senate was densely crowded. The Ladies occupied all the standing places, and most of the seats in the reporters' gallery.

The Debate was continued on Saturday:

Mr. CLEMENS said that in one of the papers of this city it was stated, this morning, that the Senate was disgraced by what took place yesterday. When the Senator from South Carolina announced his determination to make an assault—when he came prepared and armed for carrying that assault into execution, by reading all descriptions of accusations—could any one be so unreasonable as to suppose he should be allowed all the war on his side? Had the Senator confined himself to a review of his political course, he would have uttered no term of harshness; but the Senator had attempted to defame him personally—had sought out in a low and scurilous newspaper in Alabama a charge against his private character, and had attempted to give it dignity and importance by retailing it here. When the Senator did this, he had treated him and his charge in the only manner they deserved. Nothing else that the Senator said against him was new. It had already been said over and over again in Alabama, and had there been refuted. It was not because he had been charged with the abandonment of States Rights principles that called forth his remarks, but it was the attack upon his personal integrity which demanded the use of that language, which he never intended to recall. Mr. Clemens then proceeded to refute the attack made upon his political consistency, concerning the Compromise Acts, before and since their adoption. He had denied in debate on the Compromise that the President had power to coerce Texas into submission, but had not, by that, admitted, that Texas was a sovereign and independent State—independent of the Constitution of the United States. All States were sovereign, except so far as their sovereignty was circumscribed by the Constitution of the United States. In his speech in December, he had enumerated a half-dozen attributes of sovereignty which were denied to the States by the Constitution of the United States. Of these, the Senator had seized upon one, that the States had no power to punish treason. He did not mean to say that South Carolina could not declare murder, riot, or forcible rescue as treason, and hang those who should commit either of those offences. But, would that make it treason? Treason could only be committed against that power whose laws and authorities were supreme in the State. The Constitution of the United States was the supreme law; and he said that the Constitution and laws of the United States should be the supreme and paramount law—anything in State Constitutions or laws to the contrary notwithstanding. Suppose Congress should pass a Revenue Law and South Carolina forbids its execution, and the United States officers in Charleston call upon the citizens of that city to aid in the execution of that law—which Constitution is paramount? The laws of the land. Can South Carolina say it is treason to obey? She may hang the man for obeying, but she can never make it treason. It was true he had, on a former occasion, declared his intention to stand by Alabama; he said so now. He was for Alabama, right or wrong; but he was not for her because of the miserable right of peaceable secession He was with her when all other measures were in vain and when, to throw off an intolerable yoke, she commenced a revolution, would stand by her in such revolution, and in so doing he never would expect anything but that her revolution would have to be accomplished and maintained by the strong arm of force. While he had been endeavouring to quiet agitation and allay excitement, the Senator had been busy keeping them alive and placing them in places where they did not exist. If any one was responsible for the state of affairs in California, which preceded the commencement of the last Congress, it was the South. The Senate passed Walker's amendment giving Government to California. The South had then power

## Miscellany.

### THE IMPERIAL FAMILY OF FRANCE;

ITS PAST AND PRESENT MEMBERS.

Cæsar, thou art mighty yet—
Thy spirit walks abroad.

NAPOLEON, like Julius Cæsar, implanted himself and his generations immoveably on the mind of his nation. The dagger of Brutus, the temporary restoration of former freedom, the brilliant regal temptations of Marc Antony, profited nothing, and resulted only in disappointment and defeat—in Phillipi and Actium. The Roman people thought but of him whose five hundred battles had made them the mightiest of the earth. They would have none but Cæsar; and they willingly submitted to another of his race, who consolidated, amid proscription and slaughter, an empire boundless in sway, and nearly so in time, the traces and influence of which even still endure. The same lot has fallen to Napoleon. His death at St. Helena, the changes that have ensued from legitimate Royalty to limited Monarchy, and from that to the widest freedom, have in his case availed not either. Whenever the people's voice rises, the shout is for Napoleon. They will have his ashes back to repose amidst them whom he loved so well; they will have his nephew to inaugurate their new republic; and now, like the Romans of old, they will yield up all power only to him who, with sanguinary and brutal severity, prepares to perpetuate the Napoleon dominion—who already acts as Octavius, and in whom they fondly—too fondly, perhaps—view a future Augustus. Similar to the Cæsar dynasty of Rome, the Imperial family of France promised to occupy men's minds for many ages to come. "On parlera de sa gloire"—"they will speak of his glory"—augured Beranger of Bonaparte during the Bourbon Restoration: "and," continued he, "in fifty years hence they will give ear to no other story"—"dans cinquante ans ne connaîtra pas d'autre histoire." The prophecy is proved before its time. Little more than half the period foretold has elapsed, and France is absorbed in the imperial theme. At such a moment an exact knowledge of the actual *status* and condition of the present Napoleon generation becomes of momentous interest to all. Most readers, therefore—even those who have information and recollections on the subject, yet whose memory may be helped by these details—will not, we presume, be sorry to receive the following particulars about the dead but not departed modern Cæsar, and about his widely-extended kindred.

Napoleon's proud assertion that he was "the Rodolph of his race," and that his patent of nobility dated from the battle of Monte Notte, must not stand literally as evidence of the humble origin of the Bonaparte family, but rather of the haughty mind of the Imperial ruler, which could ill brook the idea of inferiority, even in this respect, to other potentates, though Hapsburgh and Bourbon were among them.

From a remote period were distinguished in Italy the Bonapartes—or rather Buonapartes, for so the name was originally spelt, and so was it perversely continued with the *u* by the enemies of Napoleon, for the purpose of recalling his foreign origin and his birth away from the land of France. As far back as the twelfth century we find the name of John Buonaparte enrolled in the list of the gallant Knights of St. James of Calatrava. This celebrated order admitted within its community those only who were of noble birth, and thus we have proof that the Bonaparte family held at that distant epoch no inconsiderable position in the world. The cradle of the race seems to have been at Treviso, whence the descendants passed into, and obtained note in, various countries of Italy. In 1512, Gabriel Buonaparte, of the Sarzana division of the family, went to Corsica, and, fixing his residence at Ajaccio, founded the branch whence sprang Napoleon. From this Gabriel Buonaparte descended Charles, the father of Napoleon, who was the first who dropped the *u* in the name.

Charles Bonaparte was born the 20th of March, 1746. Having studied law at Pisa, and attained eminence as an advocate, he resigned the gown for the sword, to assist in the gallant and patriotic stand made against the French for the independence of his country. At the disastrous termination of the conflict, he would have exiled himself with his kinsman Paoli, but was dissuaded from the step by his wealthy uncle, the Archdeacon of Ajaccio; and he became in the sequel reconciled to the conquering party, and was protected by the French Governor of Corsica. It was in the midst of this discord of fights and skirmishes that Charles Bonaparte, who is described as possessing a handsome person and great vivacity of intellect, married Maria Letitia de Ramolino, one of the most beautiful maidens of Corsica, and a lady of incomparable firmness of mind. During the years of civil war, she partook the dangers of her husband, and used to accompany him through all the toils and difficulties of the mountain campaign. Charles Bonaparte, who, on the establishment of French ascendancy, became Recorder of a tribunal in Corsica, Representative of the nation and member of the Assembly of Noble Deputies at the French Court, died at Montpellier, the 24th February, 1785, in his fortieth year. His lovely and high-spirited wife, afterwards so well known as Madame Mere, lived long after him, witnessed all the glories and the misfortunes of her mighty son, survived him also, and died at Rome in 1832, aged 82. Her mother, it should be remarked, had married for her second husband a Swiss officer in the French service, named Fesch, and had by him a son, Ginseppo, afterwards his Eminence Cardinal Fesch, who was thus half-brother of Letitia Bonaparte. The issue of Charles and Letitia Bonaparte were thirteen children; of these, five died in infancy. The others and their progeny we shall now set forth; averting, however, the regular order so far as to begin with the second and the great son, Napoleon, and to follow, for reasons we shall mention, with his nephew, the present President of the French Republic.

Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, was the second son of Charles and Letitia Bonaparte; he was born at Ajaccio, the 15th August, 1769. He became First Consul the 9th November, 1799, and Emperor the 18th May, 1804. His first forced abdication was on the 11th April, 1814; his second, after the battle of Waterloo, on the 22d June, 1815. He died a prisoner at St. Helena, the 5th May, 1821. Such is the frame of dates which embraces a career that stands unrivalled in the modern history of the world. Napoleon married, first, on the 8th March, 1796, Maria Rose Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, Viscountess Dowager de Beauharnais (see below, Family of Josephine), a remarkable woman, who seemed to be the good genius of Napoleon's prosperity, and who died of grief when his ruin came. After the unkind and unwise divorce from Josephine, Napoleon married, secondly, the 2d April, 1810, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis II., Emperor of Austria. By the Empress Josephine, who died at Malmaison, the 29th May, 1814, Napoleon had no issue. By the Empress Maria Louisa, who died Duchess of Parma, the 17th December, 1847, the Emperor left an only son, Napoleon, King of Rome, born at Paris, the 20th March, 1811, the child of many hopes, who terminated a short and melancholy life, as Duke of Reichstadt, the 22d July, 1832. On the extinction of the issue of the Emperor Napoleon, his elder brother Joseph became his representative. Joseph is now dead, leaving a daughter only; consequently the male representation would properly devolve on the next brother Lucien, and his descendants; but it is maintained that Lucien was not admitted to the position of a French prince until 1815, long after his younger brother, Louis; and that Lucien, as well as the youngest, Jerome, having married without the Imperial consent, was excluded from the succession in 1804. Upon these grounds, it is further insisted, that, according to the order of precedence established by the Constitution of the Empire, the male representation of the family of Bonaparte now belongs to the youngest and sole surviving son of Louis Bonaparte, by his wife, Hortense de Beauharnais, who is

Napoleon Louis Charles Bonaparte, the present President of the French Republic.—This extraordinary man, who presides, with bloodstained and despotic authority, over the destinies of France, was born at Paris, the 20th April, 1808. A reported remark of his mother Hortense, during his early youth, seems verified by the events of his life: "That child," said she, "is a mere compound of obstinacy and daring." His career has, up to this time, been one of imminent danger and wonderful success. His attempt at Strasbourg, his invasion of Boulogne, accompanied by a few followers and an eagle, and his escape from Ham, were but preludes to his reappearance in France in 1848, when his election as deputy in the National Assembly for the department of Yonne, the 26th September of that year, began the new fortunes of himself and his House.

By a decree of the National Assembly on the 11th October, 1848, the laws which had exiled the Bonapartes from France were abrogated; and on the 10th and 11th of the following December, Napoleon Louis was chosen President of the Republic by more than six millions of votes. What he has just done, and what he is next to do, belong, as yet, to no other report than public alarm and public discussion. The President of the Republic is unmarried.

With this digression we now return to the regular descent of the Bonaparte family. The whole surviving issue of Charles and Letitia Bonaparte were five sons and three daughters, who, in their proper order, genealogically rank as follows:

I. Joseph Napoleon Bonaparte, born on the 7th January, 1768, Prince Imperial and Grand Elector of France; King of Naples and Sicily, the 30th March, 1806; King of Spain and the Indies from the 6th June, 1808, to 1814. On the second abdication of Napoleon, Joseph purchased considerable estates in North America, and retired thither with the title of Count Survilliers. He had married, the 1st August, 1794, Maria Julia Clary, the elder sister of the present Queen Dowager of Sweden, the widow of King Charles John Bernadotte. By Maria Julia Clary (who died the 7th of April, 1845) Joseph had two daughters: one, Charlotte, widow of her cousin Napoleon Louis, the President's eldest brother, died in 1839; the other, the elder, Zenaida, is the wife of her cousin Charles, Prince of Canino. Joseph Bonaparte died the 28th July, 1844.

II. Napoleon, Emperor of the French, of whom, see above.

III. Lucien Bonnparte, born at Ajaccio in 1775, successively President of the Council of Five-Hundred, Minister of the Interior under the Consular Government, and Ambassador to Madrid in 1801. In 1804, the year of Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial diadem, he retired to Italy, and, establishing his residence in the Eternal City, purchased an estate within the Territories of the Church, at Canino, near Viterbo. This the Pope raised into a principality, inscribing at the same time the name of "the Prince of Canino" among the Roman nobles. In 1810, distrustful of the security of his asylum in Italy, Lucien embarked for the United States, but was captured by two English frigates, and conveyed to Malta, to await the orders of our Government.

In conformity with those instructions, he was transferred to England, where he arrived the 18th December, and fixed himself in Shropshire, about fifteen miles from Ludlow, on a beautiful estate he was allowed to purchase. Here he sojourned, devoted to literature and the repose of domestic life, until the peace of 1814 opened his way to the Continent, and enabled him to return to his old friend and protector, Pius VII. During the hundred days he played a prominent part, and again held in France the portfolio of the Interior. After the conflict at Waterloo, he urged the Emperor to make one great effort in defence of his throne; but the mighty mind of Napoleon was then either at fault or the man himself was betrayed. He listened not to his brother's counsel, and Lucien with difficulty effected his escape to Rome. There the Prince of Canino passed the remainder of his days, much respected in private life, and there he died on the 29th June, 1840.

Lucien was, after Napoleon, the ablest and most ambitious of the Bonapartes; and at one time his literary and scientific attainments received the most preposterous laudation from the French *savans*. His "Charlemagne" made its first appearance in London in 1814, but the success it met with was very indifferent. Besides this heavy epic, the Prince of Canino published two other works—"Stellina," a novel; and the "Cyrneide; or, Corsica Saved."

By his first marriage, in 1795, with Christina Boyer (who died in 1801), Lucien Bonaparte left issue two daughters. The elder, Charlotte, born the 13th of May, 1796, is widow of the Roman Prince Gabrielli, by whom she has a son and three daughters. The younger Daughter of Lucien by this marriage, Christiana Egypta, was married in 1826 to Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, eighth son of the first Marquis of Bute, and died at Rome the 14th of May, 1847, leaving an only son. Lucien married, secondly, in 1802, Alexandrina Laurentia de Bleschamp, by whom (who survives him, and is now Princess Dowager of Canino) he left issue—Charles Lucien, Prince of Canino and Musignano, born at Paris, the 24th May, 1803, member of the principal scientific academies of Europe and America, married, the 29th June, 1822, to his cousin Zenaida, only surviving child of his late uncle Joseph, by whom he has three sons, Joseph, Lucien, and Napoleon, and five daughters, Julia, married to Alexander de Gallo, Marquis of Roccagiovine; Charlotte, married to Count Peter Primoli; Maria, married to Paul, Count of Capello; Augusta, and Bathilda. Louis, born the 4th of January, 1813. Peter Napoleon, born the 12th of September, 1815. Antony, born the 31st of October, 1816. Letitia, born the 1st December, 1804; married, in 1821, to Thomas Wyse, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Greece, by whom she has issue two sons, Alfred and William. Maria, born the 12th October, 1818, married to Count Vincent Valentini of Canino. Constantia, born the 30th January, 1822, a nun of the Sacré Cœur, at Rome.

IV. Louis Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio, the 2d September, 1778, successively Constable and Arch-Chancellor of France, in 1801; King of Holland, in 1806, which dignity, finding himself a mere viceroy to his Imperial brother, he abdicated in 1810. Louis, with the title of Duke, and Count of St. Leu, retired from public life, and after 1815 went to reside in the Roman States. The whole life of Louis Bonaparte, the most amiable of his family, was embittered by his unhappy marriage with the famous Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine (see below, Family of Josephine), which took place the 3d Jan., 1802. He and his beautiful wife could never agree; quarrels and separation ensued; yet it would appear the fault was mainly on the side of Hortense, who was an ambitious politician, and lived but in public excitement and state intrigue. Hortense, however, had great attractions and great talents; her taste and skill in poetry and music were well known; her beautiful romance of "Partant pour la Syrie" is popular still. Louis died the 25th of July, 1840. By his consort Hortense (whose death occurred the 3d October, 1837) Louis had three sons; the eldest, Napoleon, died a child in 1807; the second, Napoleon Louis, Prince Royal of Holland, born the 11th October, 1804, married his cousin Charlotte (deceased in 1839), second daughter of his uncle Joseph, and died issueless the 17th March, 1831—the fatigues of the Bolognese expedition, in which he was engaged, having caused his death. The third and only surviving child of Louis and Hortense is Napoleon Louis Charles, the President of the French Republic (see above).

V. Jerome Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio, the 15th November, 1784, King of Westphalia from the 1st December, 1807, to the 26th October, 1813. He was at the head of the army of that country in the invasion of Russia. In 1814, however, the Allies deprived him of his throne. At Waterloo, he commanded the left wing of the French army, and, on the defeat of the Emperor, retreated with the *debris* of the forces to Paris. He subsequently proceeded to Wirtemburg, and was created a Prince of that kingdom by the title of Duc de Montfort. His first wife (whom he married in America, in 1803, and from whom he separated in 1805) was Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, a lady of Irish extraction, sister of Robert Patterson, Esq., the first husband of the late Marchioness Wellesley. By her he had one child, Jerome, born 6th July, 1805, at Baltimore, where he now resides, and was married, the 9th May, 1829, to Miss Susanna Gay. The second wife of Jerome Bonaparte was Frederica Catherine Sophia, daughter of Frederick, King of Wirtemburg, and by her (who died the 28th Nov., 1838) he has had two sons and a daughter: Jerome, Prince of Montfort, Colonel in the service of Wirtemburg, born at Trieste, 24th August, 1814, and died in May, 1847; Napoleon, Prince of Montfort, born at Trieste, 9th September, 1822; and Mathilda Letitia, born also at Trieste, 27th May, 1820, and married, in 1841, to Prince Anatol Demidoff.

Jerome Bonaparte, the only survivor of the Imperial brothers and sisters who has lived to return from exile, is now Governor of the Invalids at Paris, and a Marshal of France, having received his baton on the 1st of January, 1850.

VI. Eliza Bonaparte, born the 3d January, 1777, married, the 5th May, 1797, to Felix Bacchiochi. Her husband and herself were made, by her Imperial brother, Prince and Princess of Lucca and Piombino in 1805, and Sovereign Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany in 1809. After the occupation of that territory by the allies, Eliza and her consort retired to Bohemia, and finally to Trieste. She died in August, 1820; her husband survived her until the 27th April, 1841. They had two children, Frederick, who died at Rome, Napoleona Eliza, born 3d June, 1806, who is married to the Count Camerata.

VII. Pauline Bonaparte, born the 20th October, 1780, a woman of surpassing beauty, and the favourite and devotedly attached sister of Napoleon. She was created Princess and Duchess of Guastalla, the 31st March, 1806; but on the 24th May following, the Duchy was reunited to the Kingdom of Italy, and 6,000,000 livres were paid to the Princess as compensation. Pauline was married, first, in 1801, to General Leclerc, who died the following year at St. Domingo. She wedded, secondly, the 23th August, 1803, Camillo, Prince de Borghese; she had no issue by either marriage. The Princess Pauline died at the Borghese Palace, near Florence, the 9th June, 1825; her husband, Prince Camillo, died on the 9th May, 1832. The Princess Pauline, who never deserted Napoleon, is said to have been not a little instrumental in effecting his return from Elba, and his restoration to the Imperial throne. A story is told of her, that she was the model of the Venus of Canova.

VIII. Caroline Bonaparte, born the 25th March, 1782, married, the 20th January, 1800, to that gallant and chivalrous soldier of the Republic and the Empire, *Le beau Sabreur*, as Napoleon termed him, Joachim Murat, born the 2d March, 1771, Prince and Grand Admiral and Marshal of France, Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg, and, in 1803, King of Naples: he was shot to death the 13th October, 1815. Since her husband's demise, the Princess Caroline lived in Austria, under the title of Countess of Lipona. She died on the 18th May, 1839.

Beyond comparison, superior in talents to all her relatives, with the exception of Napoleon and Lucien, Caroline Bonaparte could not fail to win the esteem of the former; yet he dreaded her ambition, which, according to his account, was unbounded. As Queen of Naples, she is admitted on all hands to have shown great ability, and winning engaging condescension in securing the comfort of the people, and in establishing useful institutions: above all, she had a firmness of purpose which contrasted favourably with the vacillation of her husband. When, after the flight of Murat, Naples was exposed to all the horrors of anarchy, she adopted measures equally prompt, wise and energetic, for preserving the public tranquility. She assembled the national guard, which she placed at different points to overawe a licentious populace; and by this means some hundreds of the rioters were lodged in prison. She watched over every thing; nor would she leave the city until she had concluded an honourable treaty with Commodore Campbell, and until the Austrians were on the point of entering. With passports from the Emperor Francis, she then proceeded to her destination in his dominions, where she afterwards remained, and where she died.

Of the mental superiority of the ex-Queen, no less a judge than Talleyrand has borne this testimony: "She had Cromwell's head on the shoulders of a pretty woman."

The children of the late King Joachim and Caroline Bonaparte are two sons and two daughters: the sons are, Napoleon Achilles Murat, born on the 21st January, 1801, married to a grand-niece of General Washington, which lady died the 15th April, 1847; and Napoleon Lucien Murat, born the 16th May, 1803, lately Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from France at the Court of Turin. The daughters of Joachim and Caroline are Letitia Josepha, born the 25th April, 1802, married to Count Pepoli, and Louisa Julia Caroline, born the 22d March, 1805, married, at Ravenna, to Count Rasponi.

### FAMILY OF THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE.

Maria Rose Josepha, since Josephine, was the only surviving child of Joseph Gaspard de Tascher, Seigneur de la Pagerie, Knight of St. Louis. She was born on the 24th of June, 1763, and was first married, the 13th December, 1779, to Alexander Francis Maria, Viscount de Beauharnais, by whom she had issue a son, Eugene, and a daughter Hortense.

Eugene Rose de Beauharnais, the son of Josephine, and the adopted son of Napoleon, was born in 1780. He was one of the great captains of the Emperor, and became Viceroy of Italy, Prince of Venice, and Hereditary Grand Duke of Frankfort. These honours ceased with the fortunes of Napoleon; but by his marriage, the 13th January, 1806, with Augusta (who died the 13th May, 1851), the daughter of Maximillian, King of Bavaria, Eugene preserved a high position among the princes of Europe: he was made Duke of Leuchtenburg and Prince of Eichstadt, with large territorial possessions, and the title of Serene Highness for himself and his descendants. Prince Eugene died at Munich, the 24th September, 1824, and left issue two sons and three daughters. Augustus, the eldest son, his successor, married, the 2d January, 1835, Dona Maria, Queen of Portugal, and died two months afterwards. Maximillian, the second son, is the present Duke of Leuchtenburg and Prince of Eichstadt. He was married, the 14th July, 1839, to Maria, eldest daughter of the present Emperor of Russia, and has two sons and three daughters. The daughters of the late Prince Eugene are Josephine, the present Queen of Sweden; Amelia, widow of Don Pedro and Empress Dowager of Brazil; and Theodolinda, consort of Count William of Wirtemburg.

Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of the Empress Josephine, was born on the 10th of April, 1783, was consort of Louis Bonaparte and Queen of Holland, and died Duchess of St. Leu; she was mother of the present President of the French Republic (see above).

A niece of the Empress Josephine, and daughter of her husband's elder brother, the last Marquis of Beauharnais, is rendered for ever famous by an act of heroism: the lady is Emilia Louisa de Beauharnais, who was married in 1802 to Antony Count de Lavalette, and who saved his life by effecting his escape from prison in 1815. Madame de Lavalette still lives a widow.

The Viscount de Beauharnais, Josephine's husband, perished on the scaffold, one of the last victims of the Reign of Terror, the 23d of July, 1794; his widow was rescued from the same danger to marry again and to ascend and descend from an Imperial throne.

It will be seen in the above details that the President of the Republic is nearly allied to some of the leading potentates of Europe. He is, through the consort of his uncle Joseph, whose daughter his late brother married, connected with the reigning dynasty of Sweden. The Duke of Leuchtenburg, a general in the Russian service, and aide-de-camp to and son-in-law of the Emperor Nicholas, is the President's first cousin. Through the House of Leuchtenburg the President has also, in consequence of matrimonial alliance, affinity with the Empress Dowager of Brazil, and the Queen of Portugal, and with the Royal family of Wirtemburg. It is, however, further remarkable that there is no instance of a connexion between any of the Bonapartes and the rival Bourbons. It would seem that the ascendancy of either family depends not on the union, but the supplanting of each other.

The arms of the Bonapartes of Corsica are "Gu. two bendlets sinister, between two stars of five points or." For these family arms the Emperor Napoleon substituted the well-known ensigns of the French Empire. "Az., an eagle clutching a thunderbolt or." The arms of Beauharnais are, "Arg., a fess. as."

FATAL ATTACK ON THE SLAVE-TRADERS OF LAGOS.—An attack on the slave-traders of Lagos was made on the 25th of November last by the combined crews of a squadron of cruisers, comprising 23 boats, with 260 officers and men, under the command of the senior officer, Commander F. S. Forbes of the "Philomel." The King of Lagos, Gorgiocco by name, had forbidden the men of war boats from coming up the river to Lagos; but Mr. Beecroft, the consul at Fernando Po, arranged that the armed boats of the squadron should accompany him up the river under a flag of truce. When within about a mile and a half of the town, the "Bloodhound" steamer grounded; and, as she could not be got off, the boats formed line and proceeded up the river, and kept on with the flag of truce flying, until they received a heavy fire from some guns and musketry on shore. After exchanging a continuous fire for nearly an hour, with a beach lined for more than a mile with bodies of men, the boats dashed at the shore, and effected a landing simultaneously at one spot, and then, leaving a sufficient guard at the boats, about 160 officers and men fought their way into the town. They were met, however, with most determined resistance on the part of the natives, who disputed every inch of the narrow streets intersecting each other, and when beat out of one street, ran round by the backways and showed front again at the end of the other streets. After some gallant fighting in this way against an increasing enemy, who amounted to at least 5,000, and having two officers killed and six men wounded, Captain Forbes fired the houses in the neighbourhood, and retreated in good order, and, having reëmbarked, proceeded to the "Bloodhound," got her afloat the same night, and the next morning recrossed the bar; the force having sustained the loss of two of the mates of the "Niger," and with ten men seriously wounded. The "Niger" took the wounded to Sierra Leone, and proceeded in search of the commodore, and it was understood that Commodore Bruce had proceeded to Lagos to organize such a force as would compel the King to submission; the "Harlequin," in the mean time, by her presence off the coast, preventing the King of Lagos from forming any new expedition against the missionary establishment at Badagry.—*London News.*

THE SECRET OF EDUCATION.—Repetition is the motoer of all culture. Like the fresco painter, let the educator lay his colours on the wet chalk; they will dry in, indeed, but he will renew them again and again until they remain and bloom for ever.—*Richter.*

### THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES.

BY HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSON.

[*Translated for the Weekly Evening Post.*]

[If the following story should be found to have an allegorical significance, and should appear to reflect upon any of those patriots who have been most active in saving the Union, when it was in no danger, the responsibility lies with the distinguished Swede from whom we translate. We had not been aware, until the manuscript was placed in our hands, that he had watched the political history of this country with so much interest as this brief but pithy sketch seems to indicate. Will any one tell us who are meant by the two weavers?]

MANY years ago, there lived an Emperor who had a passion for new and fine clothes. Upon them he expended more time and money than upon any other luxury. He cared comparatively little for military display; he had no joy in possessing the largest and finest theatre in the world; he did not even desire to ride out in his magnificent equipage, except for the purpose of displaying some new and elegant garments. He had a coat for each hour in the day. When audience was asked of him, the answer frequently was not, as might have been expected, that the Emperor was with his council of state, but "the Emperor is in his wardrobe."

The city wherein the Emperor resided was full of life and gaiety, and much frequented by strangers desiring to see the wonders of the capital. One day, among other arrivals, were two crafty men, who had heard of the Emperor's weakness, and who passed themselves off as weavers.* They pretended that they could make a cloth of the very finest quality, which the peculiar property of being invisible to all who were not in all respects fit for their office, or station, or employment in life.

The Emperor having heard of these men, said to himself, "surely such clothes would be excellent for me; with them I could find out those in my kingdom who are unfit for their places, and be able to distinguish the clever from the stupid. I must have garments of this fabric immediately." Thereupon he sent for the two cunning strangers, made them rich presents, and ordered them to supply him with cloth for a suit, without delay.

Then the artful fellows proceeded to put up looms, and to go through the motions of a weaver. They required to be supplied with an abundance of the finest silk and most refined gold, of which they made no use whatever, except to secrete it for their own advantage, and meantime continued to work at the empty looms every day till far into the night.

Thought the Emperor to himself one day, "I should like much to know how far they have got with the cloth, and how it looks." Then he thought that no man who was fit for his position could see it, and that gave him a little concern. Although he believed there was no great danger as to himself on that point, yet he preferred to send somebody else first, to examine and report upon the subject. The people, meantime, had all heard of the peculiar virtue of the new cloth, and were dying with curiosity to have so convenient a mode of exposing the stupidity and weakness of their neighbors.

Then said the Emperor to himself, "I will send my trusty old prime minister to see the weavers. He can judge best how the cloth looks, and what kind of appearance it will make: for he is a man of intelligence, and no one fills his office better than he."

The good old minister was therefore dispatched to the rooms where the two men were working at their empty looms, to see how they were coming on. When he had entered, and put on his glasses to inspect the cloth, he stared with ill concealed surprise, and said to himself, "May Heaven preserve me! I do not see anything." He was too crafty a minister, however, to make this remark audible.

The two imposters now begged him to come nearer, and asked him if he approved of the design and the colours, at the same time pointing at the empty looms. The poor old minister bent over and peered into the looms, but could see nothing, for the good reason, that there was nothing to see. "My goodness!" said he, within himself, "is it possible that I am so stupid? I never thought so before, nor was it ever suspected. Can it be possible that I am unfit for my office? It will never do for me to say that I cannot see this cloth."

"Well, you do not say anything to it. What do you think of it?" asked one of the men, as he rapidly threw the shuttle.

"Oh, it is very handsome—quite charming," answered the old minister, pushing up his glasses. "What a beautiful design it is, and how fine the colours are! I shall report to his majesty, the Emperor, that I am pleased with it, exceedingly."

"We are glad to hear it," said the weavers, as they proceeded to paint out the colours by name, and explain the rare design. The old minister was all attention, that he might be able to repeat it to the Emperor, and so he did.

The rogues now demanded more money, and more silk and gold for the cloth, all of which they quietly put into their own pockets and toiled away as before at the empty looms.

The Emperor, delighted at the favourable report, soon sent another honest statesman to see how the weaving was coming on, and whether the cloth would soon be finished. He fared exactly as the first; he looked and looked, but as there was nothing to see, he also nothing saw.

"Is it not splendid?" asked the two weavers, as they pretended to point out and explain the design.

Thought the statesman to himself, "I am not stupid: hence it must be my unfitness for the good office I hold which causes me not to perceive anything. This is strange, but if it be so, no one knows it at all events."

He also praised the invisible cloth elaborately, and assured them of his great delight with the selection of colours and the design. He also reported to the Emperor that it was wonderful.

Nothing was now talked at the court or among the people but the wonderful cloth. Finally, it was reported to be finished, and the Emperor determined to go to see it before it was taken from the loom. He went in company with a number of distinguished courtiers, and among them the two who had already seen it. He found the crafty weavers at work, as usual, with all their might, but without warp or woof.

"Is it not splendid?" said the two statesmen that had been there before. "Your Majesty will please to examine this design and those colours!" And they pointed at the loom; for they supposed that at least some of the others might be able to see the cloth.

"What is this?" thought the Emperor. "I see nothing. This is dreadful. Am I stupid? Am I not fit for my throne? Such a disclosure would be the most shocking calamity that could befal me." "Oh yes, it is very handsome, I am entirely satisfied with it." And as he said this, he nodded to the weavers with a patronising air, as if he at any rate saw the wonders of their fabric. All his suit gazed upon the loom, but with no better success than he; but like the Emperor and his minister, they all agreed in saying they had seen nothing half so handsome or so fine. They all advised him to have his first suit of these splendid clothes ready to wear in the great public procession, which was soon to take place.

The commendations of the imposters and of their pretended cloth were so unanimous that the Emperor bestowed upon them the title of "Weavers to his Majesty."

The whole night preceding the eventful morning when the procession was to take place, the two weavers were up, surrounded with more than a hundred lighted candles, which they pretended were necessary to enable them to see to cut and make the imperial suit. They moved their hands and arms as if they were taking the cloth from the loom; they cut with large shears in the air; they sewed with needles without thread, and thus toiled away diligently for many a weary hour. At last they exclaimed, "The Emperor's clothes are done."

When his majesty came to clothe himself in his new attire, he was attended by a number of his most distinguished cavaliers. The two weavers raised up their arms, as if holding something, and said: "Here, you see, are the pantaloons, here the coat, and here the cloak, and so on; it is all as light as a spider's web; you would hardly think you had anything on if you did not see it."

"Yes, indeed!" said all the cavaliers, with well affected admiration.

"Will your Majesty now graciously please to take off your clothes," said the weavers, "that we may assist you in putting on your new dress before this large mirror, where you may see how perfect is the fit and how admirable the effect?"

The Emperor then took off all his clothes, and the rogues pretended to put on him, one after the other, the several garments they had made, while the Emperor kept his eyes upon the glass, as his toilet progressed, to see if by chance his new suit became visible, and how it appeared.

"How well this becomes you," the bystanders exclaimed, when all the garments were on. "A more magnificent costume was never seen."

"The canopy under which your Majesty will walk in the procession, is at the door," was the announcement by the master of ceremonies."

"I am ready," said the Emperor. "It does look becomingly, I think myself," and he turned once more to the mirror, that his courtiers might have no doubt that he realized the full splendor of his appearance.

The train bearers promptly advanced; they put their hands to the floor, as if they were lifting the train, and then walked on pretending to be holding something, for they dared not let it be known that they could see no train. Thus attired, and thus attended, the Emperor walked in the procession under the splendid canopy; the people in the street and at the windows shouted and exclaimed, "what a magnificent costume is the Emperor's, how rich is his train, how beautiful he looks!" The dress of the Emperor had never received so much admiration before.

"But pa, he has not got any clothes on at all," said at last a little child. "Why hear the voice of this innocent," said the father; and now the remark of the child was whispered round in the crowd. "The Emperor has got no clothes at all on." The voices of the people reached the Emperor's ears, and made him uneasy, for it seemed to him that the people were right; but he said to himself, "I must now go through with the procession." And chamberlains and trainbearers began to walk faster, still pretending to bear the Emperor's train, but beginning to feel heartily ashamed of the ridiculous exhibition they were making. Having arrived at the palace, the Emperor quickly covered himself with the garments he had thrown off, and never after cared to hear or to talk of his new clothes. D. R.

*[In the original, websters.]*

### GEORGE SAND.

FROM A LETTER OF MARGARET FULLER OSSOLI.

You wished to hear of George Sand, or, as they say in Paris, "Madame Sand." I find that all we had heard of her was true in the outline; I had supposed it might be exaggerated. She had every reason to leave her husband—a stupid, brutal man, who insulted and neglected her. He afterwards gave up their child to her for a sum of money. But the love for which she left him lasted not well, and she has had a series of lovers, and I am told has one now, with whom she lives on the footing of combined means, independent friendship! But she takes rank in society like a man, for the weight of her thoughts, and has just given her daughter in marriage. Her son is a grown-up young man, an artist. Many women visit her, and esteem it an honour. Even an American here, and with the feelings of our country on such subjects, Mrs. ——— thinks of her with high esteem. She has broken with La Mennais, of whom she was once a disciple.

I observed to Dr. Francois, who is an intimate of hers, and loves and admires hers, that it did not seem a good sign that she breaks with her friends. He said it was not so with her early friends; that she has chosen to buy a chateau in the region where she passed her childhood, and that the people there love and have always loved her dearly. She is now at the chateau, and, I begin to fear, will not come to town before I go. Since I came, I have read two charming stories recently written by her. Another longer one she has just sold to La Presse for fifteen thousand francs. She does not receive nearly as much for her writings as Balzac, Dumas, or Sue. She has a much greater influence than they, but a less circulation.

She stays at the chateau, because the poor people there were suffering so much, and she could not help them. She has subscribed twenty thousand francs for their relief, in the scarcity of the winter. It is a great deal to earn by one's pen: a novel of several volumes sold for only fifteen thousand francs, as I mentioned before.

At last, however, she came; and I went to see her at her house, Place d'Orleans. I found it a handsome modern residence. She had not answered my letter written about a week before, and I felt a little anxious lest she should not receive me; for she is too much the mark of impertinent curiosity, as well as too busy, to be easily accessible to strangers. I am by no means timid, but I have suffered, for the first time in France, some of the torments of mauvaise honte, enough to see what they must be to many.

It is the custom to go and call on those to whom you bring letters, and push yourself upon their notice; thus you must go quite ignorant whether they are disposed to be cordial. My name is always murdered by the foreign servants who announce me. I speak very bad French; only lately have I had sufficient command of it to infuse some of my natural spirit in my discourse. This has been a great trial to me, who am eloquent and free in my own tongue, to be forced to feel my thoughts struggling in vain for utterance.

The servant who admitted me was in the costume of a peasant, and, as Madame Sand afterward told me, her god-daughter whom she had brought from her province. She announced me as "Madame Salere," and returned into the ante-room to tell me, "Madame says she does not know you." I began to think I was doomed to a rebuff, among the crowd who deserve it. However, to make assurance sure, I said, "Ask if she has not received a letter from me." As I spoke, Madame S. opened the door, and stood looking at me an instant. Our eyes met. I never shall forget her look at that moment. The doorway made a frame for her figure; she is large, but well-formed. She was dressed in a robe of dark violet silk, with a black mantle on her shoulders, her beautiful hair dressed with the greatest care, her whole appearance and attitude in its simple and ladylike dignity, presenting an almost ludicrous contrast to the vulgar caricature of George Sand. Her face is a very little like the portraits, but much finer; the upper part of the forehead and eyes are beautiful, the lower, strong and masculine, expressive of a hardy temperament and strong passions, but not in the least coarse; the complexion olive, and the air of the whole head Spanish, [as, indeed, she was born at Madrid, and is only on one side of French blood.] All these details I saw at a glance; but what fixed my attention was the expression of goodness, nobleness, and power, that pervaded the whole—the truly human heart and nature that shone in the eyes. As our eyes met, she said, "C'est vous," and held out her hand. I took it, and went into her little study; we sat down a moment, then I said, "*Il me faut de bien de vous voir*," and I am sure I said it with my whole heart, for it made me very happy to see such a woman, so large and so developed a character and everything that is good in it so really good. I loved, shall always love her.

She looked away, and said, "*Ah! vous m'avez ecrit une lettre charmante.*" This was all the preliminary of our talk, which then went on as if we had always known another. She told me before I went away, that she was going that very day to write to me; that when the servant announced me she did not recognise the name, but after a minute it struck her that it might be La dame Americaine, as the foreigners very commonly call me, for they find my name hard to remember. She was very much pressed for time, as she was then preparing copy for the printer, and, having just returned, there were many applications to see her, but she wanted me to stay then, saying, "It is better to throw things aside, and seize the present moment."—I staid a good part of the day, and was very glad afterwards, for I did not see her again uninterrupted. Another day I was there, and saw her in her circle. Her daughter and another lady were present, and a number of gentlemen. Her position there was of an intellectual woman and good friend—the same as my own in the circle of my acquaintances as distinguished from my intimates. Her daughter is just about to be married. It is said, there is no congeniality between her and her mother, but for her son she seems to have much love, and he loves and admires her extremely. I understand he has a good and free character, without conspicuous talent.

Her way of talking is just like her writing—lively, picturesque, with an undertone of deep feeling, and the same skill in striking the nail on the head every now and then with a blow.

We did not talk at all of personal or private matters. I saw, as one sees in her writings, the want of an independent, interior life, but I did not feel it as a fault, there is so much in her of her kind. I heartily enjoyed the sense of so rich, so prolific, so ardent a genius. I liked the woman in her, too, very much; I never liked a woman better.

For the rest I do not care to write about it much, for I cannot, in the room and time I have to spend, express my thoughts as I would, but as near as I can express the sum total, it is this. S——— and others who admire her, are anxious to make a fancy picture of her, and represent her as a Helena in the Seven Chords of the Lyre; all whose mistakes are the fault of the present state of society. But to me the truth seems to be this. She has the purity in her soul, for she knows well how to love and prize its beauty; but she herself is quite another sort of person. She needs no defence, but only to be understood, for she has bravely acted out her nature, and always with good intentions. She might have loved one man permanently, if she could have found one contemporary with her who could interest and command her throughout her range; but there was hardly a possibility of that, for such a person. Thus she has naturally changed the objects of her affection, and several times. Also, there may have been something of the Bachante in her life, and of the love of night and storm, and the free raptures amid which roam